The clans are of basic importance. They are the largest units of 614
solidarity, and open conflict never occurs within them, as it would
not between a man's clan and his wife's and mother's clan. It is
through his clan that a man establishes his totemic relations and identifies
himself with the sacred world by virtue of a mystical experience
of his father. The mother is supposed to be spiritually fertilized by the 842
entrance into her uterus of the infant's soul when it has come from
the child's father's totemic well. Many ethnologists have insisted that
the Australian aborigines have no knowledge of physiological conception.
Although I held this opinion during the first part of my field
work, I later came to the conclusion that knowledge of procreation is
general to the Murngin but is considered of little importance.[4]

The blood feud is forever present and tends to kill a sufficient number 628
of young men to allow the system of polygyny[5] to function. The 595
Murngin have developed a number of well-constructed types of warfare
which form dramatic episodes in the several chains of feuds
linking the dead generations of the past to those of the living.

The moiety[5] is a still larger unit than the clan, dividing the sixty-odd 616
clans into two groups which intermarry. By the device of the moiety,
the whole of the life of the Murngin, as well as nature, is placed in
two opposing groups called Yiritja and Dua.

A final important structure in Murngin society is the age-grading[5] 561
institution. It divides, first, the men from the women (see page 131,
Age Grading) on the basis of those who are initiated into the mysteries
and those who are not, and then redivides the men on an age-graded
scale based primarily on the place a man achieves within the rest of
his social organization through *rites de passage*.

Within this social configuration the life of each Murngin male goes 842
through an exact cycle. The first life crisis occurs when the Murngin 852
soul, through the father's mystic experience, leaves the totemic well
and enters the womb of the mother. By circumcision around the age [304]
of six to eight years the individual passes from the social status of a
woman to that of a man. When at about the age of eighteen he 884
achieves parenthood and is shown his totems for the first time, he
goes to another, higher status; and to a still higher when, at about
thirty-five, he sees the high totems. At death he passes through a very 775
elaborate mortuary rite, returns to his totemic well, and the circle is
complete. The personality before birth is purely spiritual; it becomes 761
almost completely profane or unspiritual in the earlier period of its

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[4] See pages 23-25.

[5] See Glossary of Technical Terms.

Marderpa ←→ Marungun 614
Marungun ←→ Yalukal, Yandjinung (tribe) 582
Merango ←→ Darlwongo
Naladaer ←→ Daiuror
Perango ←→ Kolpa, Birkili
Wangurri ←→ Kalpu, Maradunggimi, Djirin, Kapin
Warumeri ←→ Kalpu
Yalukal ←→ Marungun

Examining this list of intermarrying clans in connection with the map (page 40), we see that they usually adjoin or are but a short distance apart. When Murngin warfare is discussed later in this chapter, it will be seen that the clans which are in competition for women from [578] another particular clan are usually antagonistic groups and belong to opposing sides in the clan feuds.

A man always calls his own totems bapa (father), marikmo (paternal grandfather), or occasionally old gatu (paternal grandfather's father), according to the relationship term that his father applies to the emblem. If his father calls a totem bapa, ego applies the term marikmo to it; when the father addresses it as older brother, ego calls it bapa. In other words, a man applies the rule of kinship to his relationship with his totem by tracing his relationship to it as though it were an actual relative of his father. Often this nicety is not completely observed, and all the ranga are called by the single term bapa. Ego traces his relationship to totems of another clan through his nearest and most important relative in that clan. He would apply the term mari to a totem if it came from a clan having the mari and marelker line of descent as ego's nearest relatives in it, or he would use the term gawel (mother's brother) or arndi (mother) if the totem came from his mother's group. The members of a clan may all call the same outside clan's totems by different terms, since they may all be in different relationships to the men within these outside groups. The use of this kinship device further articulates ego with the local organization outside his own group, which gives him a greater sense of solidarity. 116 602

Sharing of totems occurs largely with clans belonging to the same moiety and will be discussed under the sections on moiety and phratries.

MURNGIN MOIETIES

Yiritja and Dua are the intertribal names for the moieties of this North Australian culture. All of the eight tribes considered in this paper, except the Burera, refer to their moieties by these names. The 616

616 native word for moiety is ba-per-u, meaning the four subsections that belong to each moiety. It probably has reference to bapa (father), although the natives are unconscious of any such association.

616 197 The members of each moiety are supposed to speak different languages. The clans around Buckingham Bay, Arnhem Bay, Elcho Island and down the east coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria say they speak the Ko-par-ping-u language if they belong to the Yiritja moiety, and Djam-bar-ping-u if they are Dua. Actually, vocabularies gathered by the author show no difference between the two so-called languages. Language, however, is a native criterion—the final test—used to differentiate local groups. Even each clan is said to have a "language"; and some have a different dialect, but most within a given area speak the same one. The clans claim "languages" of their own by giving themselves linguistic names in addition to group names (see list, pages 39-51).

The people surrounding the Koparpingu and Djambarpingu area say their moieties have linguistic differences that are like Koparpingu and Djambarpingu, but do not consider themselves as being Koparpingu and Djambarpingu. There is considerable regional dialectic [619] variation among the Murngin clans; the division, however, is not on the basis of moiety, but on that of groups of contiguous clan hordes belonging to the same tribe or to different tribes.

616 772 811 Everything in Murngin civilization is divided on this dual basis. There is nothing in the whole universe—plant, animal, mineral, star, man, or culture—that has not a place in one of the two categories. This division is as clear cut to a Murngin as heaven and hell to a mediaeval theologian, although of course never on the basis of good or bad. The allocation is made by an association that sometimes seems irrational to a European but is perfectly reasonable to the native mind. When one inquires into the underlying concept back of such seeming syncretisms, the reasoning is as justifiable, granted the premise, as for our own classifications.

To illustrate the principle: a red parrot is Dua because of his early association with the Dua creator women; red parrot feathers, one of the chief articles of decoration, are Dua because of this; baskets covered with red parrot feathers are Dua. The spear thrower is Dua, the sting-ray spear belongs to the same moiety, but the wooden spear is Yiritja. The shark belongs to the Dua moiety; the barrimundi is Yiritja, as is black duck.

The above association of objects may seem arbitrary and haphazard to the reader, but every article fits into an elaborate ideological system which finds its expression in myth and folklore. The white man is Yiritja, therefore all of his culture is Yiritja; so that if a tin can is thrown away at a mission station the native who captures this valued prize knows that it is Yiritja and has a convenient and workable category in which to place it. The white man is Yiritja because the Malay trader before him was Yiritja, and Malay and white man, to the native, are obviously alike. 616 772 811

The moiety division is a most fundamental category in the native mind. It divides the mother's people from the father's. Ego's mother's brother, his mother, and his wife are in the opposite moiety to him, for the descent is patrilineal, while his own father and father's sister are in his own moiety. Below will be found a list of the relatives who belong to each moiety.[14] We shall place ego in the Dua moiety in order to orientate the relatives to him. 616 612

DUA

- marikmo (father's father and father's father's sister)
- bapa (father)
- mokul bapa (father's sister)
- wawa (older brother) (ego)
- yukiyuko (younger brother)
- yeppa (sister)
- gatu (son and daughter)
- maraitcha (son's son and son's daughter)
- mari (mother's mother's brother and mother's mother)
- marelker (mother's mother's brother's son)
- mokul rumeru (mother's mother's brother's daughter) (mother-in-law)
- gurrong (father's sister's daughter's son and daughter)
- kutara (sister's daughter's son and daughter)

YIRITJA

- nati (mother's father) 616
- momo (father's mother) 601
- gawel (mother's brother) 612
- arndi (mother)
- galle (mother's brother's daughter [ego's wife] and mother's brother's son)
- waku (sister's son and daughter, and father's father's sister's son and daughter)
- dué (father's sister's son and daughter)
- natjiwalker (mother's mother's mother's brother's son)
- momelker (mother's mother's mother's brother's daughter)
- dumungur (father's sister's daughter's daughter's son and daughter)
- nati (mother's father)
- kaminyer (daughter's son and daughter)

Incest rules are very rigid, sexual intercourse not being allowed between members of the same moiety. The rigidity of the taboo is illus- 616 835 857

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[14] The kinship terms which are here divided into the two moieties are fully described in the next chapter.

616 835 857 trated in an autobiography collected by the writer: The narrator said laughingly that as very small children (three or four years old) the boys and girls "played house" together, and although they did not know what galle and dué (husband and wife) meant, the two sexes called each other by these terms when they were playing as though they were in the right relationship; but he added, "No Yiritja boy ever played house with a Yiritja girl and no Dua boy ever did this with a Dua girl. We always did this properly." On being asked how they, as children, knew this was the right way, he said, "That is something I always knew." Other similar occurrences related of the author's informant's and others' childhood indicate the emotional depth of the dual division in the mental make-up of these people, for it goes back of memory in the experience of the individual. Since a native's memory for the events of his early life is even better than our own, it will be seen how early the discipline of the dual division makes itself felt.

616 796 The great ceremonies also help to keep the things of the universe in their correct categories and to establish their correct relationships to each other, since at least once each year they dramatize the mythologies. Most of the great ceremonies belong to the Dua moiety—the Ul-mark, Djung-guan, Gun-a-bi-bi, and Marn-di-el-la—while the Nar-ra totemic ceremony is divided into two parts, one for each moiety; the first three ceremonies of the garma corroborees, which celebrate the spiritual life of the lesser totems, are Dua, because they are associated with Yur-lung-gur and Mu-it, the great snakes, which are Dua, and because they are connected with the two creator sisters who belong to this moiety. Even though the larger ceremonies are supposedly Dua in ownership, actually both groups participate, and in their structure both are given an equal rôle. The only practical difference in these dramatic rituals is that all ceremonies owned by the Dua are led by headmen of clans belonging to this moiety.

616 There are no headmen for moieties, although, as will be seen in the discussion of myth and ceremony, the headman of the Liaalaomir holds a place almost equaling in position that which the leader of a moiety would possess.

616 578 Intra-moiety fights are common; in fact, more common than warfare with clans of the opposing moiety. No clans would join together to fight another people simply because they belong to the same moiety; nor, were this reason advanced, would it prevent fighting within the moiety. The struggle for women among members of the

same moiety is too keen to be overcome by an appeal to moiety solidarity. 616 578

Various parts of the ceremonies are used to give expression to the dual division. 616 In the Djungguan ceremony, subsections, when calling up their dead ancestors, are placed in the moiety order; that is, first 796 the four Dua subsections and then the four Yiritja take turns in calling the names and the illustrious deeds of their dead ancestors. At the end of this ceremony, when food is eaten ritualistically, the members of the two groups exchange food. During the Gunabibi only Dua men paint themselves, since it is taboo for Yiritja men so to decorate themselves for this particular ceremony. Dua men, however, cannot construct [437] the great Yer-mer-lin-di totemic emblem, and this duty and privilege devolves upon Yiritja men, in exchange for which service the Dua men present the Yiritja men with food and other presents. The Dua use a round grave post to mark their burial spots or when [764] they wish to erect a monument to the spirit of a newly dead person belonging to their moiety, whereas the coastal Yiritja raise a ceremonial mast for their dead. The Dua use red feather decorations for [301] their Narra ceremonies; the Yiritja use opossum fur.

The totems themselves are largely divided on the basis of the moiety. The list of the clans with their totems, page 39 ff., will show that 616 most clans of one moiety possess their totems in common. There is a 776 considerable regional variation, but the differences are not due to clan divisions. Very occasionally a clan will possess a totem that no other owns, but this is only a temporary condition, for the myth of the two creator women usually is sufficient proof of ownership to other clans, so that in a short time they accept this new totem as their own, provided they belong to the same moiety as the original clan. For example, on the eastern side of Arnhem Land, along the coast of the Gulf of Carpentaria, all of the Dua clan have totems such as a yam stick, old woman, and young woman, while the Dua clans in the west, which center around the Goyder River, are more concerned with a snake and a complex of totems which surround it, and less with the women and their totemic objects. There seems to be an historical basis for this division which will be discussed later.

THE PHRATRY

There is a weak attempt on the part of the Murngin to form groups 615 of clans within the moiety, based on the mythological idea of a common 197 association with a common creator totem or an alleged similarity

Liaalaomir clans, and the Durili and Ding Ding phratries. The last 615 two named are too nebulous in their composition to give their clan membership. Some informants name all the Dua clans as belonging to both, while others place only part of the eastern local units in these groups.

The phratry in Murngin society represents a weak attempt within 615 the culture to create new and larger groups than the clan to control the intra-moiety antagonisms. It is an expression of the moiety weakness 587 in controlling the antagonisms of the clans within it. The rivalry for women, as well as the other competitions, excites emotions too strong to be suppressed by phratry solidarity. It is only in the clan that one finds sufficient pressure placed on the antagonisms to prevent open war.

There is an interesting association between the Warumeri on one 614 side and the Wawilak of the Ritarngo tribe on the other. The two 616 are seventy-five miles apart, a long distance in this culture; yet according to native accounts the black duck totem is supposed to have lived 587 with and performed certain significant acts for each clan in a mythological period, so they are most friendly. Actually, the two do not compete for women, although belonging to the same moiety; but the clans that lie between these two and belong to their moiety do compete, so that the Wawilak and Warumeri have common enemies and like grievances, and possess a convenient myth as a rallying point to express solidarity when associated in warfare against mutual enemies. This association of the two clans, although of considerable importance in their activities, is unnamed and does not class them as a phratry.

THE TRIBE

The tribes of northeastern Arnhem Land, of which Murngin is one, 619 are very weak social units, and when measured by the ordinary definitions of what constitutes a tribe fail almost completely. The tribe is not the war-making group. On the contrary, it is usually within it that the most intensive feuds are found. Tribal membership of the clans on the borders of two tribes is uncertain and changing, or the people may sometimes insist that they belong to both tribes. Even clans well toward the center of a tribe's territory will, under certain circumstances, range themselves with another group, as will be seen, as we examine in the following paragraphs the Murngin tribe.

The name Murngin, as stated, is little used, the principle of dual organization being so strong that the moiety names of a particular

degree of variation; and as far as I could determine, the chief criteria 197
which tended toward uniformity in the language are a use and a
pronunciation of the various words sufficiently varied to identify a
person with his own linguistic area, and yet with enough speech uniformity to be understood by the people as a whole.

The Murngin clans are listed below, by tribe. The names of each 614
clan "dialect," of the clan country, and of the high, medium and low 197
(garma) totems were, with few exceptions, collected for all. The "sa- 192
cred names" of water holes and of rangas (higher totems) are from the
Murngin "sacred language," which is fairly extensive, including names 103
for each individual, for all the foods eaten, et cetera. Although I was 616
not always certain of the exact translation of the "sacred words," I did
learn the identity of the things to which these words referred. A
number of the "sacred words" had a number of references in a specific
situation.

MURNGIN CLANS

The Murngin Tribe

1.[16]*WARUMERI[17] (red cloud) language; PUREL PUREL (red cloud) people, also MANDJIKAI (sand fly) people (phratry).

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:*[18] Katingalunga (blow fly); *sacred name:* Urlawarla (Northeast wind place).

b. *Camp name:* Wardawardama (crayfish); *sacred names:* Barndangwawi (black duck stone), Minniminni (black duck stone), Bullomiri (black duck stone).—This is a water hole made by the Ritarngo black duck on Malleson Island.

c. *Camp name:* Nirdaoko, Niyoryuna (untranslated).—On Tremont Island.

COUNTRY: Djellidjirri (rocks)—country around Cape Wilberforce; Yamunga—Bromby Island; Onburrer (calm sea)—English Company Islands; Nanginbura (tail of whale)—Elcho Island, 1M;[19] Kaiya (anchor rope)—Elcho Island.

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[16] Arabic numerals refer to clan numbers on the map.—Since I did not go over the entire territory and since the greater part of this country has never been surveyed, some of the locations on the map may be only approximate.

[17] Starred clan names are the ones used on the map.

[18] Camp names are ordinary names used by both sexes; the sacred names are known only to men.

[19] Certain of the Murngin clans are supposed to have clan lands on Elcho Island within the general Yaernungo area. These are indicated on the map by number and "M" only.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: black duck's egg, large basket (warkaitja); 614
low: crayfish, garrawark (mythical son of barrimundi fish), barri- 197
mundi, whale, whale rib, dugong rib.

Garma: canoe mast (maraiyer), a red cloud (ripa), a stick 192
(wallo), a line of clouds that indicates the wind will stop (dir- 103
mala), bamboo, grave post (urumo), evening star (djirpun), old 616
woman who controls it (Kutjeringo), variety of paper-bark tree (uror), mangrove flower (uetja), silver mangrove (bandjur), fish spear (makur), heron (kormolo), leeches, a swamp, dugong, sting ray, white lily.

2. ŪRORLURL (buffalo fly) people; *KALPU (line of sharp pointed clouds) language.

WATER HOLES: a. *Camp name:* Telipia (stone); *sacred names:* Dumara (when Yurlunggur [carpet snake] fell down), Luwandi (hiss of snake), Napinya (lightning: Yurlunggur's tongue)—western English Company Islands.

b. *Camp name:* Moalangul (spray of waves); *sacred names:* Kurlinyina (Djunkgao sisters stopped there), Warlinyina (sun comes up, reference to actions of the two women), Gurwaurlwa (feathered arm band [of the two sisters])—Melville Bay.

COUNTRY: Buadua (buffalo fly)—western English Company Islands; Karranun (large hooked wooden spear)—Melville Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: swamp grass (darango), crab, menstruating young girl (miliyiring); low: plains goana (djinda), yam stick, tail of goana (djinda rapiri), a jungle tree from which spear throwers are sometimes made (tjota), red parrot, young girl (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun), foreskin of a man (tapo).

Garma: sea gull (djerak), wood brought in on the tide (uroko), porpoise (burlainbir), moon fish (millika), a rock (burua), young porpoise (puiapuia), morning star (barnumbir), bamboo spear, stone spear, spear thrower (mangel), variety of the wild bee (yerpain), boomerang (garliarli), white feather string (malka).

3. RIRAIDJINGO (snake's teeth) people; *KALPU language.

WATER HOLES: Only Garma wells.

COUNTRY: Tamballia (darkness caused by a heavy rain)—Melville Island.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: (Same as #2 for garmas, but no rangas.)

4. KAPIN (a grass used to poison fish) people; MUKKANAIMULMI language (also called *KALPU).

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Daringaminga (a swamp grass); *sacred*

614 *names:* Dupera (a red parrot swimming), Dulerpa (white clay
197 [two Djunkgao sisters painted them]), Kawia (two sisters listen
to singing stick).—North of Port Bradshaw.

192 Country: Moalunggal—north of Port Bradshaw; Rorronga (sting ray)—west of Cape Arnhem.

103 Moiety: Dua.

Totems: (Same as #2 and #3.)

616 5.•WANGURRI (fresh water) language; MANDJIKAI (sand fly) people (phratry).

Water Holes: a. *Camp name:* Nutjuruami (stone); *sacred names:* Bolomiri (colored stratified rocks), Yaitpi (rocks), Bangor Bangor (film over an egg), Yurkyurk (duck's waddle).—Mollison Island.

b. *Camp name:* Dalinga (white interior of a cycad palm [Banitja swallowed it]); *sacred names:* Djambarlmurro (stone fire for the palm food), Baiingnarra (Barrimundi split the water hole); Barlwarttji (leaves and sticks carried by the tide).—Southeastern Arnhem Bay.

c. *Camp name:* Tamuitpir (river mouth); *sacred name:* Puimar.

Country: Mutamil (a fresh water snake)—Mallison Island in Arnhem Bay and on Cape Newbald east of Mallison Island; Dalinga (white interior of cycad palm nut)—southeast Arnhem Bay; Tamuitpir (river mouth)—Mt. Alexander, north of Caledon Bay.

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: Tukaruma (a mythical stone-like creature who is the son of Garrawark), a mangrove log, a man's cough (narlpar), white trunked tree (guriri), black duck egg; low: garrawark, banitja (barrimundi), mangrove fish.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

6.•LUMMAMI language; MALARDORDO (palm tree basket) people.

Water Holes: a. *Camp name:* Naindjaka (name of Cape Arnhem); *sacred names:* Yilkaritpi, Cape Arnhem mainland; Daraiinni (Yiritja sting ray).

b. *Camp name:* Utjingduru (whale nose); *sacred name:* Wimmerri (whale).—Small island off Cape Arnhem.

Country: Uitjingduru.—Cape Arnhem.

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: black duck's egg; large basket (workaitja); low: rib of whale, whale's fin (paddle), garrawark, and banitja.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

7.•KOMAITS (northeast wind) language; KAINYAO (a jungle fruit) people.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Karkunga (eyes looking at the ground); *sacred names:* Waritpui (tied up [when two sisters tied up paper bark]), Gurwan (big trunk of a paper-bark tree), Buikwan (small pieces of bark that blow away when a large piece of bark is torn off a trunk). 614 197 192

Country: Karkunga (eyes looking at the ground)—Port Bradshaw, southwest of Cape Arnhem. 103 616

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: roots of paper-bark tree (tapamur); low: variety of native bee (yerpain), honey stick (garnin), orchid (djelkork), fresh water turtle, mud when turtle buries himself (minbu), a large-leafed lily (damakarla), anchor, kangaroo tail.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

8.*DARLWONGO (fresh water) language; NARKALA (barrimundi) people.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Golerttji (stake for fish trap); *sacred names:* Garngarn (caught [a ranga log was caught here in mythological times]), Ilpuru (head of Yiritja wild bee), Tapulmirri (chin of wild bee), Tamakar (leg of wild bee), Bongitja (honey).

Country: Noru (head or nose)—southeast of Arnhem Bay; Garngarn (high ground around the well).

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: (See Komaits, #7.)

9.*DJAPU people; DJAMBARPINGU (small land bird) language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Borngorlnna (variety of palm tree); *sacred name:* Turrpuitpi (sting-ray prong).

Country: Garimarla (hole when the great snake went in)—interior, north of Blue Mud Bay.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: sting-ray prong (damarrarwonga), shark liver (djukur), shark's blood (kaparn), head of shark (liamangiwar), shark's teeth and pandanus leaf-thorns (gurrorro), menstruating girl, woman's mat and apron (ainmara); low: shark (bultmaindji), shark's head dress (warak), white tree found in mangrove jungles (narrao), goona, plains type (djinda), goona tail, mature woman (gungman), yam stick, singing sticks (bilmal), uterus (dulla), small boy (djemerkilli).

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

10.*DJAWARK (small black clouds) people; DJAMBARPINGU (small bird) language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Bendringa (native companion); *sacred names:* Tupurla (long forked stick house), Karrimarla (carpet snake's voice).]

Country: Tupurla—south of Arnhem Bay.

614 **Moiety:** Dua.

197 **Totems:** ***Ranga:*** high: menstruating girl, woman's mat and apron (ainmara); low: mature woman (gungmun), young girl (wirkul),
192 clitoris (marnbu), foreskin, cane (gurlbaurlba), goona (djinda), yam stick (ganinyiri), singing sticks (bilmal), fire (malnumba),
103 tidal float-wood (onduko), red parrot (gurnboko), grub in lily pond (kamerung), black ant's nest (ringdjari).
616 *Garma:* (See Urorlurl, #2.)

11.*GWIYAMIL (fish place) people; KOPARPINGU (back of the neck) language.

Water Holes: a. *Camp name:* Milmitkutminga (yellow stone point); *sacred names:* Mantgur (fish scale)—Buckingham River.

b. *Camp name:* Gorlokna (|garrawark's| broken spear); *sacred name:* Peralmina (mangrove fish)—south of Arnhem Bay.

Country: Mantgur (fish scales)—southwest of Buckingham Bay on Buckingham River; Peralmina (mangrove fish)—south of Arnhem Bay; Elcho Island channel (11M).

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: ***Ranga:*** high: crayfish, fresh water turtle (tukarura), mangrove log; low: garrawark, barrimundi, mangrove fish, black duck egg, black duck.

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

12.*MERANGO language; DURILI (string bark) people.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Gundaikunga (chips from tree when Wongar Uré looked for honey); *sacred name:* Raimungir (|hear| frilled neck lizard hearing Uré cut the tree).

Country: Gundaikunga (tree with wild bee hive)—southwestern Arnhem Bay.

Moiety: Dua.

Totems: ***Ranga:*** high: black ant's nest, mud hole left by iguana; low: sun (wailir), sharp pointed stick found in wild bee's hive (yungun), honey (melka), black iguana, frilled neck lizard (baltjurda), young girl (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun).

13.*BIRKILI (line of high clouds) people: KOPARPINGU (back of the neck) language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Yandala (line of clouds); *sacred names:* Luinga (snake's scale), Winbara (lightning [snake's tongue]), Barkurda (snake's skin).

Country: Yandala (line of clouds)—western Arnhem Bay; Gurama (firelight)—undefined territory on north central Elcho Island.

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: ***Ranga:*** high: snake (mondukal); low: variety of native bees, orchid (djelkork), honey stick and swat (gurnin), sway grass (wirnikamu), swamp tree from which canoes are made (duwal). 614

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.) 197

14.*DJIRIN people; DJAMBARPINGU (small land bird) language. 192

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Binyunbi (shark tail); *sacred names:* Djawarknga (spear [of man who killed the Wongar shark]), Gurella (ripples from shark swimming), Gaiwarndi (stone hill left by shark's tidal wave [see myth]), Dardanga (shark's head). 103 616

COUNTRY: Djawarlkna (man who fights by ambush)—north Arnhem Bay Peninsula; Kuranga (sleep)—northwest Elcho Island (14M).

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djapu, #9.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

15.*GWIYULA people; DJAMBARPINGU (small land bird) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Marnaitja (small catfish); *sacred name:* Marrapai (Djunkgao's rib).

COUNTRY: Marrapai (woman's rib)—mouth of the Buckingham River.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djawark, #10.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

16.*NALADAER people; DJAMBARPINGU language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Maderakama (snake's crawl); *sacred name:* Makurda ("lace" spear).

COUNTRY: Maderakama (snake's crawl)—west of Buckingham Bay.

MOIETY: Dua.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Djawark, #10.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

17.*DAIUROR (Manbiri snake) people; KOPARPINGU (back of the neck) language.

WATER HOLE: *Camp name:* Djilliwirri (honeybee's nose); *sacred names:* Burungnaro (honeybee well), Djiringa (honeybee well), Daul narra (honeybee well).

COUNTRY: Djilliwirri (honeybee's nose)—southwest of Buckingham Bay.

MOIETY: Yiritja.

TOTEMS: *Ranga:* high: variety of wild bee (gamo), cough (nalpar), banyan tree (djarnba); low: orchid (djelkork), paper-bark tree (barukala), hive in tree roots (walmunao), tree whose trunk is used for making canoes (duval), stick inside bees' nest (guiparu).

Garma: emu (urparu), the root of a vine (yokowa), a bush

614 bird (piapi), opossum fur string (uinbul), small variety of stringy bark tree (garaiyurro).

197 192 18.*WULKARA (~~unclean water~~) language; MANDJIKAI (sand fly) people.

103 Water Hole: *Camp name:* Marraniyamunguli (cycad palm's leaf); *sacred names:* Mindjiringa (sand fly), gurlmula (armlet).

● 616 Country: Langera (evening star)—Howard Island and part of adjacent mainland; Bardairinga (flat paper-bark country)—mainland southwest of Howard Island.

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: *Ranga:* (See Wangurri, #5.)

Garma: (See Warumeri, #1.)

19.*LIAGAOMIR (head in the mud, a reference to a shellfish) language; DING DING (sparks) people; also DJAMBARPINGU language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Laerttutna (mangrove trees); *sacred names:* Yaoer yaoer (whisper, also name of house), Marnbonga (clitoris).

Country: South of Howard Island. (See Naladaer, #16, for names.)

Moiety: Dua.

Totems: *Ranga:* (See Djawark, #10.)

Garma: (Do not possess this variety of totem.)

20.*LIAALAOMIR (Top [head] of a long house) language; GARLBANUK (catfish).

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Durdiella (buttocks [place where the Wawilak women sat down]); *sacred names:* Mirrirmina (snake swallows), Ditjerima (menstruation blood). (Another famous well is the Gruana.)

Country: Mirrirmina—Goyder River.

Moiety: Dua.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: carpet snake's head (pirlinbir), carpet snake's anus (bundji wirtit); low: caterpillar, carpet snake (yurlunggur), carpet snake's neck (wafish), carpet snake's tongue (this is also lightning, mata wirtit), an iguana, green ant (tapalain), singing stick (marliri), a palm tree (gurlwiri), ridgepole of a house (guro guro), house's rafters (milkiri), uprights (dakal dakal), forked stick used for house construction (kanbi kanbi).

Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.)

21.*MANDELPUI (snake's spittle) language; GARLBANUK people.

Water Hole: *Camp names:* Mandelpuingumi (woman's language), Dariel (to raise up [snake]); *sacred name:* Mariu (throat of carpet snake).

Country: Mandelpuingumi (see language)—Goyder River.

Moiety: Dua.

614

Totems: *Ranga:* (See Liaalaomir, #20.)
Garma: (See Urorlurl, #2.) 197

Yaernungo (Black Cloud) Tribe 192

1.*KOLPA (Black cloud) people; YAERNUNGO language. 103

Water Holes: a. *Camp name:* Kataanunga (stone knife); *sacred name:* Puikapaiinni (crayfish). 616

b. *Camp names:* Maranama (leaves moving [from northeast wind]); Buradawart (whale rib); the two water holes on the north part of Cape Wessel Island.

c. *Camp name:* Yiringa (whale bone); *sacred names:* Bangulna (whale backbone), Yaiyuma (whale blowing)—Drysdale Islands.

Country: Martjimba (farthest point of land pointing into the ocean)—Cape Wessel; Yiringa (whale bone)—Drysdale Island, north of Elcho Island.

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: *Ranga:* (See Wangurri, Murngin #5.)
Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

2.*MURRU people; YAERNUNGO language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Mundakunga (when Djunkgao sisters sat); *sacred names:* Wangurunga (roar of tide), Djurdupula (sun).

Country: Mundakunga (buttocks)—southern end of northern Wessel Island.

Moiety: Dua.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: young girl (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun), woman's mat (ainmara), hawk billed turtle's penis (kurka maipern), lower leg of hawk billed turtle (maipern), snake's head (lia darpa), snake's anus (bundju darpa); low: hawk-billed turtle (maipern), mud fish (karlmata), yam stick (waitjum), red parrot feather belt (yiritpal).
Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2—only first six.)

3.*MARUNGUN (red ant hill) people; YAERNUNGO language.

Water Hole: (No Narra wells, only garma) on Marunga Island; on Rabuma Island (Crocodile group). *Camp name:* Garli guli (penis); *sacred name:* Mangaba (penis).

Country: Tamballia (dark before a heavy rain)—small island east of north end of Elcho Island; Mia (woman)—southwest Elcho Island; Wallera (paper-bark tree raft)—Marunga Island in Crocodile group.

Moiety: Dua.

Totems: No *ranga.*
Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2—only first six.)

614 4.*PERANGO (line of clouds) people; YAERNUNGO language.

197 Water Holes: a. *Camp names:* Djirdikaiinga (ceremonial object in Djungguan ceremony), Garuma (snake's hiss); *sacred names:* Guluma (snake's nose), Malpandi (snake's jaw), Daerungar (snake's back), Komurmandait (echoes of snake's roar [thunder]).—South Wessel Island.

192

103

•616 b. *Camp name:* Djurdjunga (white paint [used by snake]); *sacred names:* Djuranelpi (bank around the water hole), Burlurlun (sound of spring water flowing).—Eastern Elcho Island.

Country: Niyakona (swallow)—Wessel Island (south); Djuernelpi (boiling water in a well)—northeastern Elcho Island.

Moiety: Dua.

Totems: *Ranga:* (See Murru, Yaernungo #2.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2—only first six.)

5.*YALUKAL people; YAERNUNGO language.

Water Holes: (Not collected).

Country: Kongo (mangrove tree)—central Elcho Island.

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

6.*KARMALANGA (banyan tree's fruit) people; YAERNUNGO language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Guruturunga (rotten yam); *sacred name:* Gawurlinga (mud).

Country: Karlkobiri (honey swab)—Banyan Island at mouth of Goyder River.

Moiety: Dua.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: Miliyirin (menstruation blood), marnbu (clitoris); low: mature woman (gungmun), uncircumcised boy (dapi), parrot feather hair belt (yiritpal), young girl (wirkul), singing sticks (bilmal), jungle tree (murlolo).

Garma: (See Perango, Yaernungo #4.)

Barlamomo Tribe

1.*MARADUNGGIMI people; DJAMBARPINGU language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Kurukaknga (wild bee's head); *sacred names:* Banmala (flight of wild bee), gaiitpi (buzz of a wild bee).

Country: Bunmala (honeybee flying)—Caledon Bay.

Moiety: Dua.

Totems: *Ranga:* death adder (maringa or baranana); (see also Djapu, Murngin #9.)

Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

2.*KIKI or BURILUNG people; KOPARPINGU language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Maiondiji (wrapped anchor rope); *sacred* *names:* Gannal (wrapped anchor rope), murdarkara (tide pulling on anchor rope), nuiyul (anchorage). 614

Country: Maiondji (wrapped anchor string)—Caledon Bay. 197

Moiety: Yiritja. 192

Totems: *Ranga:* low: small snake (burulu). 103

Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

Dai (Barrimundi) Tribe 616

1.*MARDERPA (crocodile) people; DAI language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Kakarwilia (sound of water running); *sacred names:* Dulwarrikari (swamp), burnunburnunmi (swamp grass).

Country: Dulwarrikari (swamp hole)—interior north and west of Blue Mud Bay.

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: Crocodile (barro), crocodile egg (lainyaer), crocodile's nest (yalo), crocodile intestinal fat (djirimbirlpirl), crocodile head (mirlkor), kangaroo tail, fire (urtja).

Garma: (See Daiuror, Murngin #17.)

2.*MARUNGUN (red ant's nest) people; DAI language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Mangaia (stench of a dead man); *sacred names:* Nimaindja (knees of women), djumbulwarra (the name of the ceremonial calling out of the sacred names).

Country: Mangai (stench of a dead man)—Blue Mud Bay.

Moiety: Dua.

Totems: *Ranga:* (See Djapu; Murngin #9: all rangas the same, except Marungun have no shark ranga or any of the shark's body parts for totems).

Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

Ritarngo Tribe

1.*BRINGEL (spear grass) people; RITARNGO (spear grass) language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Garlinga (testicle of a Wongar man bitten by a catfish); *sacred name:* Burawarndji (big stone egg left by a wild duck).

Country: Marda (small trees, any species).

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: Kamur (big stone), kangaroo tail; low: black duck, a flat stone, duck egg, duck's nest.

Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

2.*WAWILAK (two mythical creator sisters) people; RITARNGO language.

614 Water Holes: (Did not record, but notes show references to the two Wawilak sisters).

197 Country: Djindjikara (deep hole).

192 Moiety: Dua.

Totems: *Ranga:* (See Liaalaomir, Murngin #20.)

103 *Garma:* (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)

●616 Djinba (Swamp) Tribe

1.*GUNABLINGU (black goose) language; GURUMBA (black goose) people.

Water Holes: (Did not collect.)

Country: Burawarndji (white stone)—Goyder River.

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: split stones when fresh water spring flows; low: swamp snake. (They have others which were not recorded.)

Garma: goose (guamurtji), goslings (birwit), red water lily, goose egg, goose nest.

2.*KURKAMARNAPIA (flying fox's penis) people; DJINBA language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Gurwa-gurwa (jungle of bamboo); *sacred name:* Guruwillin (variety of palm).

Country: Mirnaitja (high hill); golambait (honeybee excrement)—upper Goyder River.

Moiety: Dua.

Totems: *Ranga:* (See Liaalamoir, Murngin #20.)

Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

Yandjinung Tribe

1.*BARLMAWI people; YANDJINUNG language.

Water Hole: *Camp name:* Urelnga (spirit of a snake); *sacred name:* Birimbirda (a snake's spirit).

Country: Urelnga (spirit of snake).

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: *Ranga:* high: munbi (mud hole of a turtle), female fresh-water turtle (minala), crayfish (takaowa); low: grebe (djarng djarng), grass under fresh water (norit), fresh water turtle, small snake (munbi), large leafed water lily (djermunda).

Garma: (See Daiuror, Murngin #17.)

2.*MILYINGI people; YANDJINUNG language.

Country: Goyder River.

Moiety: Yiritja.

Totems: *Ranga:* several varieties of unidentified fish and birds.

Garma: (See Daiuror, Murngin #17.)

3. URKIGAINDJER (stringy bark flower) people; YANDJINUNG language. 614
   COUNTRY: Djimbi (vagina)—south of Cape Stewart, but not specifically located by the author. 197 192
   MOIETY: Dua.
   TOTEMS: *Ranga:* gaimbu (fish net), gurdamurko (catfish), wanduma (mud fish), baltjurda (frilled neck lizard), yungun (sharp stick found in bee hive), wirkul (young girl), gungmun (mature woman), baidjo (yam stick). 103 616
   Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)
4. *KURKAMULMUL people; YANDJINUNG language.
   COUNTRY: Inland southeast of Cape Stewart.
   MOIETY: Dua.
   TOTEMS: *Ranga:* singing stick (bilmal), young woman (wirkul), mature woman (gungmun), iguana; others unrecorded.
   Garma: (See Urorlurl, Murngin #2.)
5. DAWERAO
6. MANIDJIBUNG
7. *NARNARO

Burera Tribe

1. *WALLAMUNGO people; BURERA language.
   COUNTRY: Part of Millingimbi Island, Crocodile group.
   MOIETY: Yiritja.
   TOTEMS: *Ranga:* (See Wangurri, Murngin #5.)
   Garma: (See Warumeri, Murngin #1.)

There are other Burera clans which were not recorded.

283 of the red-breasted parrot can be used for certain totemic emblems.
237 To collect a sufficient supply of red feathers to put on such totems as
431 their fire, woman and other Dua moiety totemic emblems demands
considerable industry not only on the part of the totem makers in their
daily hunting and robbings of birds' nests but also in gift exchanges.
This means that red ocher and other body paints, spear heads from
the interior, carved wooden spears from the coastal belt, and other
objects of economic value must be had to trade. Small white feathers
from hawks' breasts and from the sulphur-crested cockatoo and the
blue-eyed corella are also used for the string of many totems. The
larger feathers of the cockatoos and the yellow crest of the sulphur-crested cockatoo are used for the great ritual headdresses made by the
[314] men with the aid of adhesive gathered from the ironwood tree and the
honeybee's hive. Ironwood resin makes a very hard, durable cement
and is used for many purposes for which the beeswax is too malleable.
[237] Ordinarily the beeswax is preferred for the molding of head pieces
because the proper shapes can be more easily obtained.

431 Obviously the extension of the kinship personality of a man by the
exchange of gifts between far-off relatives or the strengthening of the
602 bonds between near kin such as mari and kutara definitely stimulates
economic enterprise. More labor is necessary than if these mechanisms
were not present. The goods themselves take on higher value from
[178] their use in the totemic ceremonies; the totemic strings absorb some
of the clan ceremonial power and, once used, are taboo to the uninitiated. They are of course valuable in another ritual since they will
be used by the receiver for his own totemic emblem and then be passed
on to other reciprocating relatives.

4. *Property*

423 Relating Murngin technological articles to human beings by the concept of ownership is one of the methods of controlling and regulating
this society's adaptation to the natural environment, since it incorporates the various articles of technology into the general social order.
The Murngin concepts of property are developed into a variety of
forms according to the type of thing owned. Land is divided among
[614] the clans; and definite areas and their natural objects such as trees,
water holes, and the like are considered as belonging to these exogamic
423 units. Derivatively the moieties are also supposed to have an "owning"
relationship to the land areas of the country. This means that not only
616 are spatial divisions organized by the separation of all things on the

basis of their inherent nature of being Dua or Yiritja, but that the 423
moiety grouping of things takes on spatial definitions and specific 616
location. The importance of the intertwining of these two concepts can be seen in the larger myths such as Wawilak, Djunkgao, Barnumbir, which reflect their division of the things of nature and culture into two moiety categories and group the objects of nature accordingly
because they are the property of the clans. The clans are thought of as 423
owning their totems and the right to certain minute variations of the 614
ritual. The ownership of the land includes the use of it, but there 424
would be no thought of excluding the members of other clans from using it; rather, mutual use would be encouraged if the two groups were friendly.

The objects of the technology are personally owned, but a number 422
of brothers and fathers and sons who have cooperated in an enterprise such as boat building have a feeling of collective ownership (see pages 63, 70).

The concept of incorporeal property is not very highly developed. 424
A man's name is his own, but other members of his clan could possess it if their parents or grandparents who named them had wished it so. There are no songs or painting designs, curing or killing magics, which are considered, as elsewhere, the property of any one individual or group. Certain totemic designs are associated with clans or moieties, and it would be impossible for members of the other clans or moiety to use these designs or emblems unless given permission under special circumstances; but these as well as totems and rituals are not so much properties in an economic sense as integral parts of the structure of the clan. To a great degree this is also true of the land. To remove these incorporeal elements from the clan and moiety structures would cause a complete reorganization of those structures, and only in a most secondary and derivative sense can they be thought of as in an economic category; yet the effect of their being part of the clan and moiety configuration has many of the attributes of our concept of property.

The Murngins' undeveloped sense of property seems to be associated with their lack of interest in developing their technological equipment, and both of these social elements seem to root in the desire to be free from the burdens and responsibilities of objects which would interfere with the society's itinerant existence. The equivalents of
incorporeal property in other tribes are here felt to be part of the clan 424
or moiety, i.e., not objects for the exclusive use of any one individual 756
group to dispose of as it saw fit. The medicine man's magical ritual

"Run and get some paper bark and make a basket," said the older Wawilak man. 773

They gathered two baskets of blood, and went to the dance grounds. They made a bush house on part of the ground that represents the snake's tail.

"You take all the hawk's feathers, bush cotton, and this blood, and we'll paint ourselves. You do this, and I shall go cut a hollow log and make a Yurlunggur trumpet."

Each did his task. The hollow ridgepole from the Wawilak sisters' house was used for the trumpet totemic emblem of Yurlunggur.

The sun went down. They left the blood till morning. They slept, and while they were in a deep sleep they dreamed of what the two women sang and danced when they were trying to keep Yurlunggur from swallowing them. The Wawilak women came back as spirits and taught the two men the Djungguan songs and dances that are for the outside general camp, and the inside ones that are for the men's camp. They told the men the way to do the Marndiella, Gunabibi and Ulmark ceremonies. They sang Yurlunggur and Muit. The men slept on and dreamed that Yurlunggur brought out all the iguanas from the Mirrirmina well. (See Djungguan ritual, pages 283 to 284.)

The two sisters said to men, "This is all now. We are giving you this dream so you can remember these important things. You must never forget these things we have told you tonight. You must remember every time each year these songs and dances. You must paint with blood and feathers for Marndiella, Gunabibi and Djungguan. You must dance all the things we saw and named on our journey, and which ran away into the well."

After the men danced the new dances and ceremonies for the first time they went back to their own country. "We dance these things now, because our Wongar ancestors learned them from the two Wawilak sisters."

THE DJUNGGUAN CEREMONY

The great ceremonies all take place in the dry season, and always on the men's ceremonial grounds. Actual participation is only by initiated men, although the women, not allowed in the ceremonial grounds and not thought of by the men as in the ceremony, play an important rôle. 796

All the ceremonies are associated with age grading, as being participated in by men initiated into certain age grades, or serving to initiate a man into a higher status; and all are associated with moiety or clan totems. [561 614 616]

All the rituals have ceremonial leaders. The participants paint themselves with sacred totemic designs and usually employ feather orna- 796 302

852 leader walks among the men, who are decorating themselves with
302 birds' down to take the part of various birds and animals in the
778 coming ceremonial dances, and sings a song over their heads. He sings
the taboo names of the creature the man is painting himself to represent.
This makes the design and the man magically powerful.

852 One end of a small green stick from any tree is chewed into a
brush and dipped into the blood, and the blood is painted over the
302 body of the man to form the various designs used by the dancers.
The paper bark dropped into the blood the day before is also used
as a brush. Two men usually paint each other at the same time. The
old men paint in the old men's camp, and the younger men go off
by themselves. If the old men so desire, they may paint outside where
the young men do. They do not let the neophytes see them decorate
themselves for the ceremony.

2. The boys who are to be circumcised are painted on the dance
ground by older men. The totemic design of the clan is placed on
[824] each candidate's chest and abdomen, with the juice of an orchid bulb
as the adhesive; blood is never used because it is magically too powerful
for an uncircumcised boy. The man who paints the boy is always
[431] given a present by the father and mother. The neophytes are then led
by the older men to the head of the snake ground. Sweat from the
armpit of an old man (almost as powerful as blood) is rubbed on the
eyelids of the boys to strengthen their eyes for the coming ceremony.

852 3. The division of dances that follows on this day of the circumcision
is on a moiety basis. Dua men dance Dua animals and plants,
535 Yiritja men dance Yiritja objects that belong to their world of culture,
616 man and nature.

Two men run in with their spears fixed to their spear-throwers and
852 point them straight at the boys as if they were going to throw them.
535 The men have their baskets in their mouths as they often do when
fighting. They return to the bush and rush in a second and third time.
They are supposed to be fighting men and also catfish. The word for
catfish is the same as that for one variety of fighters. The leader sings
catfish while the men dance. Several old men stand beside the boys to
instruct them and to prevent their running away.—Each group of
dancers bows before the initiates just previous to leaving the dance
ground.

After the "catfish" have retired, one man comes in dancing, carrying his spear-thrower and shaking it as if it were a bird's tail. He is a willy-wagtail. He pretends to pick flies off the branches of the trees

surrounded with grass and covered with paper bark. The bark is cov- 852
ered with human blood, on which is pasted birds' down or bush cotton, 778
and on one yermerlindi a representation of Muit is painted in human [532]
blood against the white-feather or cotton background. This yermerlindi is another emblem of the rock python totem. The other is called a palm tree emblem, but it is known to be a python totem too, for it has a snake design upon it. The two are stood up by the Yiritja men. They say to each other, "Oh! They are true Wongars [totemic spirits]." The leader sings a song to prevent sickness since the yermerlindi are very powerful because Muit is inside them.

2. The Yiritja camp, where the yermerlindi is made, although still 852
on the men's ceremonial ground, is placed at one side of the actual 778
dancing ground. No Dua man can go near it. The Dua leader asks 616
from time to time by circumlocution if the yermerlindi is made, even when the emblem is completed.

While the Yiritja are making the yermerlindi, the Dua men send [431]
presents of food to them for making the yermerlindi. The Yiritja men send the Dua presents of kangaroo fat and red ocher with which to paint the Yiritja dancers.

The Dua leader of the Gunabibi once more asks if the Yiritja have finished their work, and they reply that yermerlindi is ready. The leader says, "One day more and then we will dance with yermerlindi." The Yiritja never say that yermerlindi is ready until the two messengers have returned with the visitors. 852

3. Following the blue-tongued lizard dance which marks the end of a phase of the ceremony, the Gunabibi pauses so the men may eat their evening meal.

Later in the evening the neophytes are placed on the raised ground on the concave side of the kartdjur. Two leaders now conduct the ceremony. A new phase of the Gunabibi has begun. A long shallow trench of some fifty feet is extended from one end of the kartdjur. The neophytes have bushes placed under their armpits. The Yiritja snakes and the Dua leaders put their own arm sweat on the eyes of all the initiates.

All those who are not dancing stand on the raised ground with the 852
chorus. Two dancers sing reed warbler in a small piping tone which 533
forms a ludicrous contrast to the heavy male chorus. The onlookers in
chorus appreciate the deliberate humor of the contrast. The clown ele- 522
ment, although not definitely and elaborately developed, is present in this part of the ceremony as well as later.

884 A. THE FOUR KANGAROOS RUN AWAY

1. The four kangaroos and the line of men at the boundary line between the men's and the women's camps.
2. The women appear and the kangaroos run away to the men's ground.
3. The men remove all articles of dress and ornament and cut their hair.
4. The men dance individually.

1. When it is decided to hold an Ulmark ceremony, which may or may not be every year—although theoretically it should be—the older men cut down a tall tree, take the top out of it, remove the branches, and carry the log to the ground which forms the dividing line between the men's ceremonial ground and the main camp. Next morning four ●[616] men, two from the Yiritja moiety and two from the Dua, sit down on the log. The two Yiritja men represent the large gray kangaroo (kai-tjim-bal) and the two Dua men are stone kangaroos (pardi-pardi). All of the initiated men sit down in a line by them.

884 884 535 2. An old man goes to the general camp,[19] collects all the women, and brings them to the spot where the log has been placed. The women dance in, single file, carrying yam sticks and singing "Kait-bal kait-bal" The kangaroos run away from them toward the men's ceremonial ground, followed by the other men walking with high steps in slow rhythm. The women follow to the near boundaries of the men's grounds and then dance back, still singing "Kait-bal kait-bal!"

884 3. When the kangaroos reach the ceremonial grounds they throw away all their body ornaments and dress, including their armlets, wristlets, and pubic coverings, until they are completely nude. They then cut their hair.

884 535 4. After the log episode, the men start dancing, morning and evening, with the day given up to any occupations they may have, as during the Gunabibi. A chorus sings and one man dances while the

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[19] The grounds of the Ulmark are largely similar to those found in the Djungguan. There is the usual division of the territory into two parts: (1) the general camp where the women dance and which is sometimes referred to as the women's dance ground, and (2) the men's ceremonial ground where in the earlier part of the ceremony a bush house is made for the ceremonial totemic drum, and where two triangular dance grounds are made. In the earlier sections of the ceremony (see Section C, etc.), the triangular dance ground is on the surface of the ground and is formed by heaping up earth to demark its limits. In later sections a triangular dance ground is excavated (see Section G), referred to by the natives sometimes as the dance hole, sometimes as the snake ground, sometimes as the well. A bark house for totemic paintings is also erected on the men's ceremonial grounds.

for sexual intercourse." This explicitly states the relationship of their feeling toward modern man's activities and toward the activities of the old Wongar men. 796 773

D. SEA TIDES AND FLOOD WATERS ARE DANCED

1. The tides of the ocean and the floods are danced; certain birds and animals are included. 796

1. The following dry season word comes in from the various clan groups that they have red parrot string ready. The leader then sends out word that a Narra ceremony can be held. The messengers are decorated with red parrot feather armlets and may carry a miniature Dua totemic emblem carefully wrapped in paper bark. The ceremony can take place in either a Yiritja or a Dua camp ground, even though the performance is Dua. This statement is true with the possible exception of the Gwiyula clan; they seem to have a strong feeling that their ceremony ought to be held at their own well. Yiritja men can dance with Dua men. [202] [616]

The men and women of the various clans arrive and bring the parrot feathers or parrot feather string they have accumulated during the year. Ideally, many rangas should be made, including, in addition to the others named earlier in this chapter, fire, basket, labia minora, and the other totemic emblems that belong to the clans of the Dua moiety. The rangas that were made the year before are taken out of the mud, washed, painted with red ocher, and the parrot string put on them. The men paint their bodies and faces with red ocher. White clay is put on their bangles. It takes several days to prepare the totemic emblems properly. While the men are engaged in these preparations, the women have been industriously collecting lily bulbs, palm nuts and yams to supply the men with food for the period of the ceremony. Some of the men carry food from the various camps to the Narra ground. This dance ground is the same as the small quadrangle used in the Duni, except that the borders are made with heaped-up earth.

The first dance is spring flood water. The line of men dance back and forth, following the leader or calling out, "Ai—e!! Ai—e!!" which is the water coming down; when they turn and retrace their steps they call out, "Um—um ye," which is the tide returning. They next dance the ocean. The leader calls out, "Let! Let!" and when the dancers turn, "R-R-R-irt!! R-R-R-irt!!" the cries of the red parrot from the tree tops. 796 535

age-grade sense. Their beards demonstrate their belonging to the ma- 796
ture men's age grade. The red parrot feather decoration on the 773
beards helps to ritualize this symbol of manliness.)

J. The Higher Totems Are Shown the Older Men

1. The old men leave the young men and show their higher totems 796
to each other. 535

1. Following the ceremony of showing the totems to the older 561
young men, who represent an age-grade stratum of the male division
of the tribe higher than the recently initiated boys, iguana is repeated;
then follows the sea-water dance which has been described, and
finally iguana, with the usual conventional ending of "benbur benbur."

Only the older men see the higher rangas. The young men are left 796
and the older men go inside the bush to look at the rangas which only 561
they are allowed to see. The string is taken off all the totemic emblems 431
at this time. This string is presented to members of the opposite
moiety, or very frequently, as has been said before, kutara gives it to 616
mari and mari to kutara (they are of the same moiety) as a demonstration of the solidarity of their relationship. If people who are somewhat distant, therefore a bit strange, ask for this ranga string, it arouses a considerable feeling of antagonism in the owner. It is usually said, "Have people lost their heads? Can't they think? We will just give them ordinary food later. We won't give them string." —"If they are very good friends we can give them food, but the food is not given a power name."

K. The Eating of the Sacred Bread, and Conclusion of the Ceremony 796

778

1. The bread is eaten by those of near kin.
2. The string is removed from the emblems and the neophytes are 514
instructed.

1. The leader sings over the palm bread (or yams) which is put in the ashes and cooked. He calls out the totem names of the various rangas (kookaburra, banitja, etc.). This is supposed to infuse the bread with the power names of the rangas and make it "just the same as a ranga," which means that the totemic spirit resides within the bread. Only the men who understand can eat this, which means only the men who are near relations and who have been initiated.

The Murngin always eat in this way after all ceremonies. To outside tribes the people say, "This is maraiin that belongs to the Narra,"

61 of the Murngin is highly elaborated and permeates all the activities of
771 the group and all of its concepts of life in the world about it; but despite this proliferation of detail of totemic ideas, none of the informal structures have totemic elements as definite parts of their organization, whereas all the formal ones have them. The clan has multiple totems attached to it by authority of the various myths, and the moiety is given these same totems generally by the whole myth. For example, all Dua clans theoretically have the Wawilak totems or the Djunkgao totems according to the area in which the moiety is located. The subsections have definite totems given them, although they are of little importance to the Murngin.

601 The Murngin clan is a social category which gives spatial form to
614 the kinship system. The ordinary kinship reciprocals can exist anywhere, since a man's father or mari could be almost anywhere in the
● 616 area, and as a kinship term *mari* is not thought of spatially and in a definite locality, although one's actual father is of course identified with one's own clan. With the introduction of the clan system into the larger social order by the selection of certain lines of relatives out of the total group and the rejection of others through the use of the patrilineal unilateral principle, certain people are given a single unity with respect to the rest of the kin community and are at the same time related to a given area of land. By the inclusion of certain people and the exclusion of others from the kinship pattern, one of the chief functions of the kinship reciprocals is expressed, because the principles which exclude most of the people from one clan include these people in other clan groups and thereby create a clan system integrated into the structure of the larger kinship system. All of the people and all of the clans are related by kinship ties. The kinship system functions as an "international" social system by means of the allocation of the clans to one of two groups. This interclan organization is more simply formed than the kinship structure, and from the point of view of the moiety the segmentation into clans gives greater precision and stronger local solidarities for the people within either half of the tribe. The moiety has spatial significance only indirectly and in a derivative sense; the total territory of the clans of one moiety is its only claim to spatial character.

773 The Wawilak and Djunkgao myths emphasize the spatial char-
614 acteristic of the clan by naming its various locations and clan wells, and by relating the wanderings of the two women through the various clan territories; further, the women's travels locate and relate the clans

sible enemy group made him decide in favor of the reality of his experience. 787 754

After much conversation and discussion about it among the members of the two groups, it was decided that it must have been a dream and that it was not true. It was obvious that both sides wanted the relations to remain friendly.

There is some evidence that dreaming may explain the beliefs of sorcerers that they have killed certain people, since once a man gains a reputation for being a killer, and given the fact that the sorcerer kills men who stand in unfriendly relations with his group, it seems highly likely that some of his dreams would organize his antagonisms into a folk pattern in which he would be the soul stealer and his enemies the victims.

APPENDIX V

MURNGIN PERSONAL NAMES

The personal names of the Murngin are directly or indirectly connected 551 with the various parts of the social structure to which the possessor belongs. The kinship and family structure are given expression in the fact that a 614 man usually obtains his father's father's or mother's mother's brother's 616 names, which conforms to the alternation of generation principle found in the extended kinship organization and in the subsection system. The clan and moiety are directly related to the personal names because some of the sacred and secular names always refer to an individual's totem and are usually connected with a clan well, or they may be the names of certain mythological ancestors which are again connected with the clan well. These names may be part of the Narra ceremony, since the names of the clan wells and those of the totem are called during this ritual. This is also true of the Wawilak cycle of rituals because the names of the ancestors are shouted during such ceremonies as the Djungguan, which means again that they have a totemic reference. A partial list of the names follows:

Men's Names: 551

Dar-per-aoi: the clan country from which this individual came.

Gur-nirn-oi: from the stone found in his clan country.

✓ Walt-chi-mi: the name of a hollow drum-like totemic emblem which is supposed to stand up and walk around in the water and make a noise like a trumpet playing.

Nal-mi-a: mosquito.

Gan-du: refers to a totemic song and ship, the black color of a sail.

I. "BASIC" LINES OF DESCENT

The kinship system then is, as Radcliffe-Brown has mentioned (1951:48), 601 based on three "basic" patri-lines, i.e., three classes of male relatives in the second ascending generation, the MARI, MARIMO and NGADI. M.M.B. is distinguished from F.F., but M.F. and F.M.B. are classed together. The inclusion of NGADIWALGUR, as a special variety of NGADI, gives a secondary patri-line. Radcliffe-Brown has discussed the "matri-lines" stemming from these, and has demonstrated that the existence of the term NGADIWALGUR with its reciprocal DUMUNGUR makes it necessary to have seven vertical 601 columns. There are three basic patrilineal lines of descent and three basic "matrilineal" lines of descent: on this structural feature we agree with Radcliffe-Brown 611 (1951:49). There are, however, certain differences: see Table 1. Although there are three basic patri-lines plus four secondary patri-lines; and three basic "matri-lines" plus four secondary "matri-lines," only one patri-line and one "matri-line" are of immediate importance to EGO. Patri-line O is [614] significant to an EGO because through it he inherits his linguistic group [616] ● (*mada*), and thus his clan (*mala*) position. The moiety too is patrilineal; through this line he inherits his ritual position in the sacred ceremonies, together with sections of the relevant mythology and songs, sacred emblems and poles, feathered strings, and sacred uterus dilly bag, his section of the linguistic group and clan totemic patterns. His ritual status is determined through his membership in this patri-line, which includes male siblings of his F., F.F., and male children of the latter. (The females of this line also inherit a ritual status, but I shall not discuss this here.)

This line is the important *babaru*, the male descent line the sacred line through which a man prenatally receives his spirit, and into which when dead he merges as an ancestor. Magic too passes down this line, and all members of it are of the one moiety.

The "matri-line" (X in Table 1), cutting diagonally across the constant vertical "flow" of the patri-line, signifies a "submerged" line of descent. It is relevant to an EGO, but not to his father. It signifies too the importance of the line of his mother, who through her brother has been able to hand on to her [593] son some of her acknowledged ritual status. She herself, because lacking in executive authority, cannot hand on such knowledge as she may have, but [604] through the intense emotional siblings-of-opposite-sex bond (the strongest tabooed tie of all) she is able to delegate this duty to her brother, EGO's M.B. Consequently, EGO has a place in the patri-line of his M.B.; but this is [616] actually of secondary importance, because his M.B. is of the opposite moiety.

But down this "matri-line" of EGO passes the knowledge and ritual status which skips a generation with the m. and M.B. and comes directly, so to speak, from EGO's M.M.B. to EGO himself, for these two are of the same moiety, i.e., from the M.M.B. to his Sr.D.S.

This is the important *maribula* line, of the same moiety as EGO's patri-line. To all intents and purposes it is identified with EGO's own line, and the rights and privileges which he inherits through it may be the same as those

[text continues on p. 87]

611 any identification between those of the same moiety). But females serve as an agent or link in the transmission of rights and prestige (status and privilege), not through their patri-line, but through their matri-line. They are, so to speak, a channel through which this knowledge passes: knowledge from their M.F. which they have no right to hold themselves, but which comes to their male children. They serve as links, that is between EGO's m. and m.m., allowing EGO to receive this knowledge through the nominal head of his M.M.F.'s patri-line or *babaru:* this head is the M.M.B. This knowledge does not come through a man's M.B. There is no such link between EGO and his M.B., for the latter is too deeply involved with his own *babaru* and his *maribula*, which would be EGO's NGADIWALGUR's patri-line. This comes from a man to his d., and passes through her d. to the latter's son; but as the knowledge is in the hands of a man's son, upon his death it may be taken for all intents and purposes to pass from this custodian, via his sr. and sr.d., to his Sr.D.S.

B. *Three Forms of Descent.* Now, we may observe that we are dealing with three forms of descent as indicated in the structure of the Wulamba kinship. The first is the patri-line (or line of patrilineal descent); the second is EGO's mother's patri-line; and the third is the "line of inheritance" EGO's so-called "line of matrilineal descent." Each of these must be examined in order that we may know the nature of each, with a view to arriving at a definition.

C. *Line of Patrilineal Descent.* The line of patrilineal descent consists of all males and all females descended from a common forefather of the third ascending generation, in an unbroken male line. It is an agnatic descent group and strictly unilateral. The females belong to it in name, but lose their formal identity upon marriage outside the descent line. They serve as "agents" through which their male children may achieve some recognition (status) in the cult life of their M.B. Further, they serve as "links" through which their daughter's male children can gain recognition from their MARI.

The male members of this line of patrilineal descent are, in a manner of speaking, a descent group. We shall return to this aspect later. We may, however, say that all the male members of this line, as well as female members, belong to a patri-line. For our purpose here the "patri-line" and the "line" of [613] patrilineal descent are to all intents and purposes one and the same. Moreover, this patri-line must not be viewed as a lineage, although we will discuss this, too, later.

D. *EGO's Matri-Line.* Now a man's mother's patri-line is of the same nature as the patri line: strictly unilineal descent through males, traced to the third ascending generation, and including females who are siblings in each generation level. Females are agents or links, through which, on the one hand, their sons can obtain recognition in the cult life of their B., and, on the other, their d.'s sons gain recognition in their patri-line.

602 A man's patri-line is of one moiety, his mother's patri-line of the opposite
611 moiety. A man's association with the cult life of his mother's patri-line is of a
[616] "submerged" nature. Through his physiological connection with his mother, he must inevitably have some "rights" in her patri-line: but he can never as-

2: Berndt E-5 (1946-1950) 1955
O117 Murngin O117

sume a dominant rôle in any of its corporate activities. He can become initiated 602
into its cult "mysteries," certain aspects can be revealed to him; but, however 611
much he may know about these, he remains virtually an outsider.

A man's submerged association with the mother's line of descent may be 602
viewed in terms of mutual aid. It is described in the following way. A man's 611
bones are made from seminal fluid, his flesh from his mother's blood. A male 842
of one moiety and a female of the other have combined in mutual "work" (i.e.,
djama, "work," sexual intercourse) and through their efforts formed the
fetus. Because of his bones, the enduring part of his physical body, and because
of the patri-ancestor who animated his fetus, a man may be acknowledged
a member of his patri-line. But because his mother gave him his flesh,
so to speak, he has some connection with her patri-line. Because he has only
flesh from her, he cannot handle the sacred emblem poles of her patri-line. [826]
But his bones are really his father's *babaru* sacred poles; and because of this,
and because of his ancestor's spirit, he attains full status in his father's patriline.
Because his mother co-operated with his father in bringing about his birth,
because she added something to his physical being, he must always assist in
the ceremonies of his mother's patri-line. When men perform on their sacred [616]
ground, those of the opposite moiety aid them in minor dancing, in singing, in
calling invocations. But they may never handle the sacred emblems, never
impersonate their ancestors; the cloak of spiritual sacredness may never descend [171]
upon them. A parallel with the Nuba may be drawn here (Nadel
1947:213).

Within the mother's patri-line one finds relationships such as *momo*, 602
NGADI, GALWAL, *ŋandi*, GALEI, *galei*; intimacy with the females—with the 611
galei, sexual intimacy, with the *ŋandi* and *momo*, freedom of expression, lack
of constraint; formal constraint with the males, GALEI, NGADI and GALWAL.
There too, ideally speaking, are the M.Bros. of each generation of males
of the patri-line. This is EGO's avunculine; its importance to EGO depends
on the importance of the M.B.

E. *MARI-GUDARA Line of Inheritance.* The third line of descent is of a 611
different nature: it signifies EGO's descent or inheritance through females to the third ascendant generation level, headed by a male, linking EGO with the patri-line of his m.m. This is not the "matrilineal descent line" spoken of by Radcliffe-Brown, when a man is followed by his Sr.S. Murdock (1949:15, 44) and Herskovits (1949:290), for example, have given us definitions relating to matrilineal descent. Do these conform with what we find among the Wulamba? First, we may observe that this "descent line" cutting diagonally across the structure of the system does not mean that EGO is assigned exclusively to that group (consisting of all females of that line and their male siblings): i.e., it does not assign a person to his mother's kin group. If the latter were inferred, this would mean that EGO would be affiliated with female and male members of both his mother's patri- and matri-lines. Now we may be prepared to say that by matrilineal descent we mean that a person belongs to his mother's "family," but that for purposes of inheritance and succession this is traced

611 through females to a named or presumed female ancestress, i.e., from S. to m., to m.m., and so on. To Radcliffe-Brown (1952:36) matrilineal succession means that "the greater part of the body of rights of an individual . . . are derived by him through his mother and cannot be transmitted to his children but devolve upon his sister's children." This is obviously what is meant by matrilineal descent: rights, power, privileges, etc., conferring, supplementing, or withholding membership in the group which forms the descent line, "flow" down through a man's female siblings and are held only for the span of their lifetimes by male children of these female siblings. In this way a privilege (e.g.) may be held by a man who obtained it through his m., from her M.B.: the principle is inheritance and succession through a M.B. to Sr.S. But in our [604] Wulamba structure, descent is different: the M.B. is not in the position to hand on any more than rights, privileges, and entree into the cult life of his own patri-line; he has, of course, as I have indicated, some affinity with the patri-line of his mother, but his main interests lie in his own patri-line and in that of his own MARI-GUDARA inheritance line. Within this context, then, the M.B. is of little importance and is not a factor for consideration.

When we say that an EGO traces descent back from his m. to his m.m. and back to a female ancestress, this is matrilineal descent, and females serve as agents in transmitting. In the Wulamba case, an EGO's m. and m.m. are agents who serve as connecting links (not being themselves transmitters). But what they serve to represent is not such a matrilineal sequence, for it is the patri-line of the m.m. which holds that which is to be transmitted. That is to 602 say, the knowledge an EGO receives from his maternal grandparent, a male, 611 belongs to his same moiety: it "skips" a generation, and also a moiety. It is 616 really an oblique line of inheritance from the head of a person's m.m.'s patriline, this head being his M.M.B., of the same moiety as himself and closely identified with (possibly one and the same as) the head of his own patri-line. We can call this the MARI-GUDARA line of inheritance. One of its principal functions is to strengthen patriliny.

III. DEFINITIONS

611 Thus we may state that patrilineal descent is a dominating factor in Wulamba society. The patri-line is reinforced by the MARI-GUDARA line of inheritance, while there is a "submerged" relationship between a person and [602] his mother's kin, i.e., agnatically, because of the importance of the patri-line. But there is no acknowledged matrilineal descent, whether of a submerged nature or otherwise.

Thus a patri-line signifies descent through males to an acknowledged common progenitor in the second or third ascending generation levels, and includes male siblings of each generation level. These form the active members of the patri-line. The females of a patri-line are, nevertheless, closely bound to it: this is exemplified in the siblings-of-opposite-sex relationship. They serve as links between male members of their line and their daughter's sons.

EGO's matri-line is his mother's patri-line defined in this same way: a

114 611 they are descent lines. But at the same time, Radcliffe-Brown failed to make clear just what is the degree of correspondence between these descent lines and the local descent groups which constitute Wulamba society. Do we, however, agree with Leach's explanation?

[616] Leach constructs a chart (1951:33, Fig. 7), which includes relatives genealogically related to EGO while he is a youth: i.e., those who are socially important to him as a young man. Warner's diagram is thus redrawn to show moiety arrangement. Leach calls the local descent groups CC, B, C, and CCC (see Table 1).

582 601 611 114 B, C, CC, and CCC are no longer descent lines but local descent groups: B is allied to CC and balanced against C and CCC. B need not, but may, be a part of CC. We may agree with Leach, who says that the MARI and MARIMO cannot be the same person but they can be "clan" brothers. This point has been noted above. The point in question is the "balance" between wife-givers and wife-receivers. What compensation does a group give when receiving a wife? Leach discusses the status superiority of GALWAL in relation to EGO, and of MARI to GALWAL. The argument is thus: B and CC are allies and stand in balanced opposition to C and CCC; taken in pairs there is an exchange of women. In this manner, although the status difference between "wife-givers" and "wife-receivers" is admitted, the over-all system is represented as one of equilibrium. The economic and status relations are considered the most important theme to be derived from Warner's study.

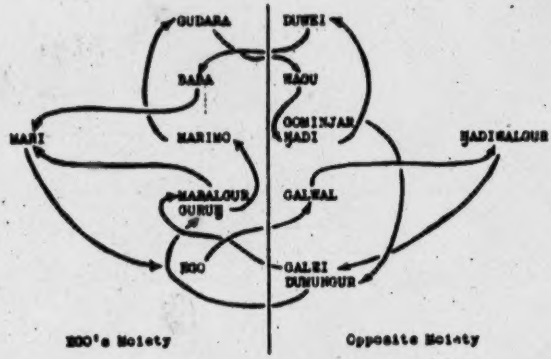
Now, reorganizing a certain section of Warner's diagram, as Leach has done, does not resolve the problems which he raised. The re-assembling of terms actually adds nothing further than facilitating access to material already latent in Warner's diagram. It tells us nothing more than what Warner has already said. The same number of individuals are accounted for: B and CC, and C and CCC, both belong to different moieties. If B and CC are identified as "brother" groups, as C and CCC may be, then an "exchange" of wives is assumed. Thus we can say that the MARIMO (B) receives as his wife a *momo* (C); he does not give his own sister in exchange (so to speak) to his *momo's* brother NGADI, but his "clan" brother MARI (CC) gives his sister (*mari*) to the NGADI (C) and he is thus compensated; the MARI (CC) is compensated by receiving the sister of the NGADI's clan brother, NGADIWALGUR (CCC). Now, who gives the latter a wife? In Leach's diagram a "clan" sister of CC goes to him, thus placing the local groups CC and B at a disadvantage, at least for the time being. There is not really a balance between "wife-receivers" and "wife-givers," and the over-all system (as explained by Leach) is not one of equilibrium. For equilibrium to be attained, the NGADIWALGUR should receive a wife who is the MARIMO's sister, as compensation for having given his own sister to MARI (a "clan" brother of MARIMO) as wife. But NGADIWALGUR marries a "clan" sister (or actual sister) of MARI, while MARIMO's sister marries a GOMINJAR, who may be equated with a NGADI. But need there be absolute equilibrium? And if there is, need it be achieved in one generation, i.e., in the generation of EGO's grandparents? Leach's

583 on the marriage of his daughter, but part of this must always go to the latter's
601 MARI. The key positions, then, are those of GALWAL and MARI—the
611 M.B. and M.M.B.; they may be viewed by an EGO as positions of superior
[602] status.

Table 3, however, demonstrates the asymmetrical nature of the kinship
582 system. It will be noticed that those in the second ascending generation are
583 receivers and givers (note incoming and outgoing arrows), but the MARI re-
601 ceives more than he gives. This is counterbalanced by his sister's marriage
611 with NGADIWALGUR, when the diagram begins to repeat itself in order to ensure a flow of goods from the outside—that is to say, to ensure that a "spread" or a coverage of a number of groups is made where marriages are concerned. There will not in reality be identification of groups within one moiety: it will necessarily be unstable (i.e., as Leach has observed, 1951:52, any system of balances will be unstable).

TABLE 3

[616]



Or consider the same problem between wife-givers and wife-receivers
582 (Table 4). Three groups are found on *X* side and two on *Y* side: EGO receives
601 his wife from his GALWAL, who in turn receives his wife from his GALWAL,
602 EGO's M.M.B. These symbolize the descent lines of inheritance discussed
611 above. These *X* and *Y* lines are recurrent through the generations, i.e., the MARI (e.g.) receives his wife from his M.B. in the generation level above him. Seniority in status does not depend on a man's giving his d. to a male in the generation below; it is ascribed to him through seniority and position in his relevant generation level. A MARI will always have a higher status than a GALWAL, and the latter than an EGO. Such relationships are implicit, not only in the kinship situation, but throughout social life.

C. *Local Descent Group-Line versus Descent Line.* We may now return to
617 the crux of our problem and examine the term "local descent group" or "local
613 line," which Leach has used in preference to "descent line."

The "local lines" would be, according to Leach (1951:33), CC, B, C, CCC

601 patri-line and hence the descent group, in its parallel extension, of the MARI
613 would form a parallel linguistic group. That is to say, the MARI would belong
614 to a corporate descent group, similar in structure to that in which we find
EGO and his MARIMO, and several parallel groups of this substance would
form the linguistic group, which would be parallel to the one in which we find
EGO and his MARIMO and classificatory kin of his patri-line. These adjacent
parallel linguistic groups, each of separate name, each claiming a separate dia-
lect, we shall designate a *clan*, noting that each clan bears a separate name.

613 The linguistic group is loosely conceived as the political unit: and this may
or may not include the descent group of the MARI. If the descent group of
the MARI is outside an EGO's linguistic group, then the latter may be af-
filiated with the MARI's linguistic group, and become the combined ritual
[614] body or political unit. The number of parallel linguistic units found in any one
clan varies, from one to several (six or so). And it is highly probable that EGO's
maribula, which may be synonymous with the *gudarabula*, will be found here.

Now, the linguistic group, and the parallel linguistic groups forming the
clan, are exogamous. For various reasons which we shall not discuss here,
● [616] linguistic groups have, we may assume, grown unwieldy or been driven away
from their home territories, and have thus settled elsewhere. Thus we find to-
day that one linguistic group may be (e.g.) duplicated and scattered across
eastern Arnhem Land, incorporated under another clan name, and parallel to
613 other linguistic groups of different names. The whole area is divided among a
614 number of clans of varying names, belonging to either of the two moieties, and
containing linguistic groups which are often duplicated in other clans. But if
616 EGO's *babaru* is found in one linguistic group and that linguistic group name
is found in another part of the country, allocated to a different clan, a relation-
ship is claimed as in the case of the parallel descent groups forming EGO's
linguistic group. The same is the case with EGO's *maribula*, which may be
found some considerable distance away from his own *babaru*. Similarly, the
patri-lines which symbolize EGO's affinal descent groups of the opposite
moiety may be adjacent to or some distance away from his *babaru* and *mari-
bula*. In reality then, the patri-lines shown diagrammatically in the kinship
system are scattered throughout eastern Arnhem Land, and are duplicated and
reduplicated for the local descent groups, each being a corporate descent
group. It is probably this situation which has given rise to the native classifica-
tion of conventional intermarrying pairs of linguistic groups (this point will be
discussed in another paper).

613 Some of the assumptions we have made regarding the distribution of
linguistic groups, and their reduplication under different clans, need further
discussion. This is not possible here, but must be considered in a separate
study. Sufficient has been said to indicate that the basic social unit is the cor-
porate descent group; and the linguistic unit under which this is classified, to-
gether with the one which contains the *maribula*, form the other joint body of
some solidarity. It is said that the *babaru* and *maribula* are expected to act as
one in all corporate enterprises, and their "union" is expressed particularly on

*532 day, in many cave paintings the motifs and styles are different from those now in use.

171

(iii) FIGURES CARVED IN WOOD OR MOULDED IN WAX

Although carving in the round extends far beyond Arnhem Land,[36] it appears to have reached its highest development in the north-eastern area. The aborigines in and around Yirrkalla also make excellent models in wax. The tribes of Cape York[37] are expert in the same technique.

(iv) FIGURES MOULDED OR DRAWN IN WET SEA-SAND

[857] The aboriginal children of north-eastern Arnhem Land are skilled in both drawing and moulding various creatures in the wet sand of the seashore.[38] As the children of Central Australia also draw designs on the sides of drifting sandhills, it is almost certain that this practice has a much wider distribution than present evidence indicates.

(v) FIGURES IN BARK

The aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land make small human figures by binding the soft paper-bark together with string. Worms[39] records similar figures from north-western Australia.

4. TECHNIQUES

386 The materials used in the production of the bark and cave paintings are: (i) Colours: red, yellow, black and white ochres; (ii) fixative; (iii) brushes; (iv) flat, dried sheets of bark.

(i) COLOURS

The pigments used to paint the designs on the bark sheets, or on the cave walls, were red, yellow, black and white. Although I did not specifically ask the name of the colours at Groote Eylandt, Tindale[40] gives the names of those employed there as white, *tonguru*; yellow, *otarak*; black, *udumach*; and red, *maruwuna*. The red was traded from the mainland to Groote Eylandt, the other colours being obtained locally. Rose[41] also refers to trade in red ochre with the mainland tribes. Since the war, the Groote Eylandters have learned that carbon from dry batteries discarded by the Air Force makes an excellent black. This was used extensively both on the bark paintings collected by the expedition and those described by Adam.[42]

At Yirrkalla, the aborigines used four pigments, red, white, yellow and black. The first two belong to the *dua* and the latter to the *jiritja* moiety. Red, *murugun*, and white, *kapun*, are plentiful in the cliffs at Yirrkalla. It can, however,

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36. Mountford (1951), p. 87, Pl. 1.
37. McConnel (1935), Pl. 27, Fig. F.
38. Barrett and Croll (1943), Pl. 11, facing p. 70.
39. Worms (1942), Fig. 6.
40. Tindale (1926), p. 116.
41. Rose (1942), p. 70.
42. Adam (1951), p. 100.

be gathered only by the *dua* men who give it to those of the opposite moiety. 386
Yellow, *kadangul*, and black, *tjunupul*, come from localities near Gurunga.[13] The 66
collection of the yellow pigments is associated with a ceremony in which men of the *jiritja* moiety only can take part. The *jiritja* distribute these pigments to the *dua* men.

At Oenpelli, most of the colours are obtained by trade. The best red ochre, 171
gunaitdai, comes from a totemic place, Widitjan, about eight days journey south. If this ochre is in short supply, the aborigines use an inferior local ochre. For white, the aborigines use a stone, *outjain* (unidentified), which they first grind into a paste and, when it is partly dry, mould into small cakes. In this form, the pigment is traded over long distances. The yellow ochre, *marungaruram*, which is soft and easily ground, comes from some unidentified place to the far south. I did not gather any details about the source of the black, called *munmui-jungarin*. Apparently it is in short supply because it is rare in both the bark and cave paintings of the Oenpelli area.

Throughout Arnhem Land the pigments are ground, with water, on rough 386
flat stones. One stone is generally reserved for the white pigment. Cockle and 531
small bailer shells are often used as paint pots. Both Tindale[14] and Spencer[15] state that the aborigines mix their pigments to get different shades. At the time of my visit to Groote Eylandt, Yirrkalla and Oenpelli the aborigines were not mixing their colours, the different pebbles of red and yellow ochres accounting for the varying shades of red and yellow in the paintings.

(ii) FIXATIVE

The juice of one of the tree orchids (*Dendrobium* sp.) is used by the Arnhem 531
landers as a fixative on both the bark and the cave paintings. The orchid bulb is 824
cut in halves, broken slightly by chewing, and, in the Oenpelli and Yirrkalla areas, rubbed directly on the bark or rock surface, or in Groote Eylandt, mixed with the colour on the grinding stone. This method of holding the colour is effective as long as the pigments are applied thinly; if not, they tend to flake off.

(iii) BRUSHES

The aboriginal artists of Arnhem Land use three kinds of brushes: 531

(a) A narrow strip of bark, chewed at one end (Fig. 3F). This is held as in 413
Fig. 3C; and used for the broad lines.

(b) A cylindrical stick (Fig. 3E), about three thirty-seconds of an inch in diameter, and three inches long, which has the end slightly burred. With this the artist makes the dots. The brush is tapped on the grinding stone to load it with colour, which is transferred to the painting with the brush held as shown in Fig. 3B.

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[13] See myth of Gurunga, p. 371.

[14] Tindale (1926), p. 117.

[15] Spencer (1928), p. 792.

brother and sister made their respective camps some distance apart by pushing back the sand-hills.[26] Next morning *Djunkgao* and *Madalait* moved westward and, according to the Yirrkalla informants, again made camps at Arnhem Bay,[27] Napier Peninsula,[28] Milingimbi,[29] Goulburn Island,[30] and Cape Don. 773* 532*

The aborigines of the *dua* moiety produced fourteen bark paintings, two carved figures and five decorated ceremonial objects,[31] all dealing with the myth of *Djunkgao and Madalait.* 773* 616

Djunkgao at Bilapinja Island

The left-hand side of Pl. 85E and the upper panel of Pl. 86C describe the sunwoman, *Walo*, rising from her camp at Tjurinjina at the same time as *Djunkgao* and his sister, *Madalait*, beached their canoe on Bilapinja Island.[32] The diagonal lines are the rays of light from the sunrise, and the parallel lines, the light reflected from the crests of the incoming waves. The bands of yellow, black and white across the disc of the sun are symbolic of the red-feathered string ornaments which the sun-woman wore round her head and waist as she travelled across the sky. 773* 532*

Djunkgao at Waipingboi Island

As *Djunkgao* and *Madalait* were passing Waipingboi Island the former made a song about a hawksbill turtle, *kouwaradji*, in the water, and an oyster-catcher, *kalaka* (*Hæmatopus ostralegus*) seated on a rock. The turtle is now a boulder which is submerged at high tide, and the oyster-catcher a tall pillar of rock projecting above the water. [136]

On the upper panel of Pl. 85A is the hawksbill turtle, and below, the oyster-catcher. The cross-hatched panels symbolize the seas breaking over the totemic rocks.

Djunkgao and the Sand-dollars at Aparina

When *Djunkgao* was paddling along the coast of Aparina Island he noticed the light reflected from both the ridges left in the wet sand by the receding tide and the marks made by the sand-dollars (*Laganum depressum*) as they moved along the wet beach. [126]

The panels of dots on Pl. 85D are the sand-dollars, which are still numerous in that locality, and the cross-hatched panels, the light reflecting from the ridges on the beach made by the sand-dollars.[33]

Djunkgao and the Baijini at Aparina Island

When Djunkgao and his sister landed on Aparina Island they found that the *Baijini*[34] (who were *jiritja* people) were cooking trepang on the *dua* half of hut to punish the women. When the women saw the enraged serpent approaching, they sang many magical songs[51] and danced many powerful dances, to send the serpent back to his waterhole, but he still came on. In desperation, the women went inside and blocked the openings of their hut with bark and leaves to keep *jurlungur* at bay. But the serpent pushed his head inside, swallowed the child, then the younger and finally the elder sister. He then returned to the waterhole, but later came again to the surface and regurgitated the women and child, whose bodies are now large rocks. 773* 776

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[26] Bark painting, Pl. 85E, right-hand panel.

[27] Bark painting, Pl. 87C.

[28] Bark painting, Pl. 87A.

[29] Bark painting, Pl. 87D.

[30] Bark painting, Pl. 86E.

[31] Described in Part 5.

[32] The right-hand side of Pl. 85E will be described on p. 273.

[33] Pl. 88D shows the tracks of sand-dollars.

[34] The *Baijini* were a fair-skinned people who came to Port Bradshaw to collect trepang. They are now included in the mythological stories, p. 333.

On Pl. 88A, the rectangle at the top represents the bark hut built by the women. Within are the two *Wawalik* sisters and the newly-born child. *Jurlungur*, at the bottom, *a*, is leaving his sacred well. In the next position the serpent has encircled the hut, thrust his head inside and swallowed the child. On the lower right, he is returning to the sacred well of Mirrirmina after having swallowed the whole family. 773* 776 532*

The designs on either side of *jurlungur* at *a* represent the water in the sacred Mirrirmina well. The central parallel lines, with the footmarks between them, indicate the path of the women leading to the hut. The design to the left of the path symbolizes the blood which offended *jurlungur*, and that to the left, dry ground. The designs on the right-hand edge of the painting again represent the water in the sacred well of Mirrirmina.

Banaitja and his Son, or Counterpart, Laitjun, at Blue Mud Bay

Banaitja[52] and his son, or counterpart, *Laitjun*, are to the *jiritja* moiety of eastern Arnhem Land what *Djunkgao*, his sister *Madalait* and the *Wawalik* sisters are to the *dua*. Neither the mythology nor the ceremonies of *Banaitja* and *Laitjun* are as varied or as extensive as those of the *dua* ancestors. 616 773*

Banaitja came from the south-west[53] to Blue Mud Bay during the time that ordinary men and women lived in the world. He was a huge man, with deep chest and long powerful limbs, who always carried a long spear, called *balinin*, and a spear-thrower, on one end of which was a tassel of human hair.[54] As he walked around the countryside he shouted 'Wah-wah' in a voice so loud that 773*

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[51] One of the songs which the sisters sang is still used by the women in the *ulmark* ceremonies when they hear the sound of the log gong. This sound is supposed to be the voice of the serpent (Warner, 1937, p. 311).

[52] In some of the myths *Banaitja* recreated himself in the name of *Laitjun*, in another he is the father of *Laitjun*, and in still another he travelled as *Banaitja* through a number of localities, including Cape Arnhem. The fact, however, that Warner (1937), p. 364, in his description of the *jiritja narra* ceremonies of Milingimbi refers only casually to *Banaitja*, and makes no reference whatever to *Laitjun*, suggests both that the *Banaitja* myth is unimportant in the Milingimbi area, and that the creation of *Laitjun* is only a local development in the Blue Mud Bay area.

[53] The carved figure of *Banaitja*, Pl. 135A, B, shows him to be sub-incised. As sub-incision is not practised in Arnhem Land, this would suggest that the *Banaitja* myth extends south into the area of sub-incision. [304]

[54] A similar spear-thrower was used by the members of the *wirinikapara* moiety (equivalent to the *jiritja*) during the ceremonial bathing of the *amaraltja* rituals of Groote Eylandt, p. 56. [171]

*773 *532 at the lower part of his face represent his beard. In panel *b*, *Banaitja*, with many spears still embedded in him, is under the water of the Duluru-waltjalapa swamp. His body is already covered with the special designs which, later, he showed to the *jiritja* groups of north-eastern Arnhem Land. In panel *c*, *Banaitja*, now *Laitjun*, is showing those designs to the assembled *jiritja* tribesmen. To the right of *Laitjun* is the eucalyptus tree, upside-down, into which he later transformed himself. The other five figures in the same panel are those of aborigines beating the ground with the *banaitja* bundles of paper-bark. The cross-hatching to the right of *Laitjun* is the dust that rises when the aborigines beat the ground with the *banaitjas*.

Plate 88B is a painting of *Laitjun*. The designs on his body are those belonging to the *dalwongu* language group (*mata*) whose land is at Blue Mud Bay. He is wearing a sacred bag around his neck and feathered bands on his arms.

Plate 88C deals with three mythical men of the *jiritja* moiety, among them being *Laitjun*. Their names are, *a*, *Kalparimu*, *b*, *Barama*, *c*, *Laitjun*. The zigzag lines joining the heads of the men together, at the feet of *a* and between *a* and *b*, depict the hair and *jiritja* string ornaments worn by the three men. The designs between *b* and *c* and to the right of *c* are those which were painted on the back of the men. Because the artist could not show the designs on the back of the figures, he has painted them alongside. The same design, which belongs to the *mangalili mata* of Blue Mud Bay, is repeated on the lower panel.

At the feet of *Barama*, *b*, is the triangular ceremonial ground[58] in which these three men conducted their sacred rituals. This painting deals with only a fragment of the *Laitjun* myth.

Tjambuwal, the Thunder-man

776 *773 [616] The thunder-man, *Tjambuwal*, is an important ancestor of the *dua* moiety of the Yirrkalla aborigines. *Tjambuwal* is the creator not only of the clouds, the storms and the thunder, but also of the little *dua* spirit children, *jurtu*, who descend from the sky in the raindrops to become human beings.

In the early days of the world *Tjambuwal* was a giant who lived at Waranaka, an island east of the Wessel Islands. One day, as he was sitting in the shade, *Tjambuwal* saw, in the distance, a Malay prau approaching his island. Annoyed at the intrusion, he waded into the sea and, taking hold of the boat, started to pull it to land. But the Malays attacked *Tjambuwal* with a large knife, cut off both his hands, turned the boat about and sailed for home. *Tjambuwal's* hands, however, joined miraculously to his body, and soon he was again in pursuit. That time he succeeded in pulling the prau to shore and was preparing to smash it in pieces when the crew again attacked him, this time amputating his forearms. Although his arms, like his hands, joined miraculously to his body,

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[361] [58] A triangular ceremonial ground is used by the aborigines of Milingimbi in the *djunggwan* ceremonies. Warner (1937), p. 265.

This was a signal for a number of *Bukalatji* men, who were hiding among the trees, to attack the unsuspecting *Muruma* and spear him to death. His body is now a rock which projects out of the sea near the shore at Jalboa (map, Fig. 57). 773* 532* [823]

Two bark paintings illustrate the mythical story.

The central figure in Pl. 96A is *Muruma*. In one hand he holds four fish and in the other a twin-barbed fishing spear with which he has transfixed another fish. The crescents above his head and on the left-hand side of the painting represent curious loop-like clouds, *wulmu*.[96] The circles and cones along the right and left-hand edges are also clouds. In the upper part of the painting *Muruma* is asleep under a tree, with the fish (upper left) cooking on the fire, *a*, beside him.*

Plate 96D deals with the death of *Muruma* at the hands of the *Bukalatji*. In the centre is *Muruma* spearing fish and stingrays. In the lower left he is resting by his camp-fire, around which are the fish he is cooking. The *Bukalatji* are grouped along the upper edge. At the right, the unfortunate *Muruma* is being speared by one of the *Bukalatji*. Already there are many spears in his body.

Nakundia and Mununatan

Nakundia and *Mununatan* were two fishermen who once lived at Blue Mud Bay. One day, on returning to their camp after a day's fishing, they were set upon and speared to death by aborigines from a hostile group.

In the lower right panel, *a*, of Pl. 96C are *Nakundia* (lower) and *Mununatan* (upper), both with a large fish in each hand. Above them is their canoe with the sail set. The next two panels to the left are the oval ceremonial grounds, similar to those used in the *arawaltja* ceremonies of Groote Eylandt (Fig. 6). Still further left is one of the fishermen standing on a rock, shown as an oval beneath his feet, with a fish in each hand. Above him are five fishing lines with hooks and sinkers attached. In the lower left, *b*, of the left-hand lower panel, one man (unidentified) is spearing another (possibly referring to the death of either *Mununatan* or *Nakundia*). There are six spears to the left of this group. The designs on the upper half at *c* are totemic rocks and a palm tree, upper right. [171]

The men responsible for the death of *Nakundia* and *Mununatan* are shown in the central transverse panel *d*, while in the upper left panel, *e*, are the two dead fishermen transfixed with spears. At the right of the same panel are many fighting spears of a type used only in avenging ceremonies. [411 796]

Minjapa and Wuluwil, the Turtle Fishermen

Two mythical fishermen, *Minjapa* and *Wuluwil*, one day captured a large turtle. They brought it into Jalboa, about three miles north-west of Yirrkalla.[97]

[776 616]

[96] These clouds, *wulmu*, also belong to the thunder-man, *Tjambuwal*, Pl. 90D. It is evident that *Muruma* and *Tjambuwal*, both belonging to the *dua* moiety, are associated in the mythical stories.

* Reproduced in *Australia: Aboriginal Paintings—Arnhem Land*, 1954, Pl. XXVI.

[97] This is also the totemic place of *Tjambuwal*, the thunder-man, and *Muruma*, the fisherman.

*773 at each end, their holes. Cross-hatched panels *f, f, f,* represent the paths made
*532 by the *gunjun* crabs as they ran from one hole to another.

The turtle track has now been transformed into a group of red and yellow sand-hills and the holes of the *gunjun* crabs into low bushes.

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(a) THE CONCEPTION BELIEFS

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787 Throughout the eastern side of Arnhem Land the aborigines believe the spirit child visits the father in a dream and asks to be directed to his future mother. The sources from which these children spring, however, vary with the different localities.

At Groote Eylandt, the children travel on the winds, those of the *wiritikapara* moiety on the *mamariga* (south-east) wind,[9] and those of the *oranikapara* (equivalent to the *jiritja* on the mainland) on the *bara* (north-east) wind.[10] The little spirit child hides in the grass until it has an opportunity of visiting the father in a dream and asking him for a mother.

At Milingimbi, Warner[11] states, the spirit child, who has been living in the totemic well in the form of a small fish, asks the sleeping father the name of its mother. The father points her out, the child enters her body and starts life as a human being.

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842 It was at Yirrkalla, however, that I was able to obtain, through the medium of the bark paintings, a more complete account of the conception beliefs.

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(i) *The Conception Beliefs of the Dua Moiety of Yirrkalla*

The people of the *dua* moiety believe that when *Tjambuwal*, the thunder-man, creates the rain clouds he places in them a number of spirit children, *jurtu*. These *jurtu*, who are so small that only the medicine-men can see them, descend on the raindrops to the land, or the sea. If on the land, the little *jurtu* enter one of the various *dua* yams, fruits, and especially the *dua jarapang* or *linawai* wild honey; if the *jurtu* falls in the sea, it inhabits the *dua* fish or the green turtles. The little child spirits of *Tjambuwal* will not have anything to do with *jiritja* foods.

One day, as shown in the painting, two men catch a green turtle, bring it to the shore and cut it up so that everyone can have a meal. The cutting up of the
[787] turtle releases the *dua* spirit child living in its body. That night, when everyone is asleep, the spirit child, *jurtu*, visits one of the men in a dream and says:

'You are my father. *Tjambuwal* put me in the turtle you cut up today, so that I could find a mother. Where is she?'

[595] The father points out one of his wives, whom he has been told has ceased menstruating: the child enters her body and starts a terrestrial existence. Next morning the father, if he remembers the dream (the aboriginal men said that it was not often that they did), says to his wife:

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[9] Myth of *mamariga* wind. Pl. 21D.
[10] Myth of *bara* wind. Pl. 21B.
[11] Warner (1937), p. 21.

'Last night a *jurtu* came and asked me for a mother, so I sent it to you.' 184 616●
Within a short time the mother shows signs of pregnancy. 842

In the middle of Pl. 99B is *Tjambuwal*, holding the spirit child, *jurtu*, by 532*
the hand. Over his head are the boomerang-shaped clouds, *wulmu*. The groups of curving cross-hatched panels on the upper edge and the left-hand side of the painting are rain clouds, *b*, the home of the spirit child. On the right-hand side are two men spearing a turtle inhabited by a *jurtu* and on the left a pregnant woman. The curving cross-hatched lines at *a*, on the extreme right of the painting, represent the water disturbed by the wounded creature.

(ii) *The Conception Beliefs of the Jiritja Moiety*

The conception beliefs of the *jiritja* moiety vary somewhat from those of the *dua*. They believe that when a woman ceases to menstruate her blood goes into the sky and is there changed into a spirit child, *jurtu*. After some time the little [821] *jurtu*, desiring an earthly mother, creates a thunderstorm and a rainbow, and, using the raindrops as a vehicle of travel, descends to the earth. If the *jurtu* falls into the sea, it enters some *jiritja* creature such as a dugong, a hawksbill turtle or a queen fish; if on the land, a hive of *jiritja* honey, *kamou* or *barangit*, or the body of some *jiritja* creature. Should the aborigines spear a dugong and find that it is particularly fat, or locate a hive well stocked with honey, they know that the dugong or the hive is inhabited by a spirit child.

When, for example, the dugong is cut open, and the *jurtu* escapes, it visits the sleeping father and asks him which of his wives is to be his mother. As with [787] the *dua* moiety, the father points out a wife who has ceased menstruating. The [575] child enters her body through the vulva. If the father remembers next morning he tells the expectant mother about his dream. Soon afterwards the woman feels the movements of the *jurtu* within her body. As soon as a woman ceases to [843 menstruate, she must not eat meat or fish. Her diet is limited to grass-seeds, 262] yams, the fruit of the cycad, shell-fish and crabs.

On Pl. 99C: the father and pregnant mother are at the upper edge of the painting. On either side of them are large thunder-clouds created by the spirit child, *jurtu*. On the right of the painting is falling rain, parallel lines of cross hatching, and on the extreme left two dugongs; the cross-hatching around them is the sea. The U-shaped symbol is a rainbow created by the little *jurtu*, at the base of which is one who has descended on the raindrops. He is swimming about in the sea, waiting for an opportunity to enter the body of one of the dugongs which, he hopes, will be captured by the men in the canoe.[12] The artist explained that he had made a mistake by not allowing himself enough room to paint the dugong in the canoe with the spirit child inside of it. So he painted the *jurtu* only.

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[12] The *jurtu*, like the *muri* of the Adnjamatana tribe of the northern Flinders Ranges of South Australia, are, before they enter the mother, complete, self directing beings. Mountford and Harvey (1941), p. 159.

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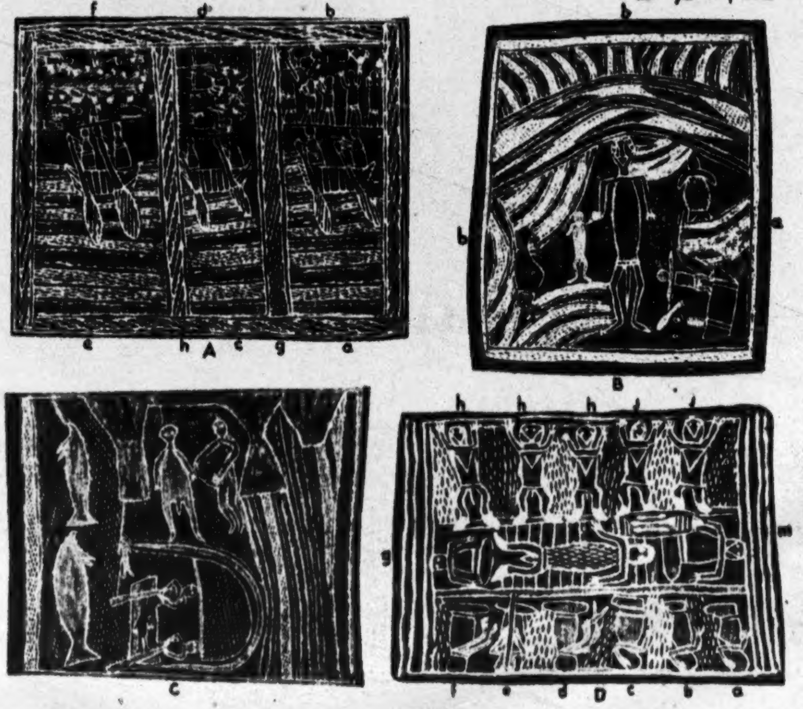
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Plate 99. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla

A The journey of the dua dead
B Dua conception beliefs
C Jiritja conception beliefs
D Burial, cleansing the bones

(b) DEATH AND BURIAL

There are three important events in the life of every male aboriginal of 844
Arnhem Land—in fact, in the life of any tribalized Australian aboriginal—birth, 881
when he leaves the land of the spirits and enters the every-day world; initiation, 764
when he is admitted into the sacred or ritualistic world, where age makes him
increasingly important; and death, when he leaves the every-day world, and again 561
enters into the land of the spirits.

Although there are few rituals associated with birth, those of initiation and the later age-grading ceremonies are long and complicated, for it is by these ceremonies that men are admitted deeper and deeper into the secret life of the tribe.

At death, the burial rituals extend over many weeks, their purpose being not 764
only to send the spirit so happily to its future home that it will not be a danger [775]
to the living, but also to allow the living to adjust themselves to their loss.

The burial ceremonies at Yirrkalla have three main phases: (i) the ceremonies
at death, (ii) the cleansing of the bones, and (iii) the final burial, after which
the spirit of the dead leaves for its aboriginal 'heaven'. If the dead are of the [616
dua moiety, the spirit goes to Purelko, and if of the *jiritja*, to Nalkuma. 775]

(i) *The Ceremonies at Death*

When a man dies his relatives gather round the dead body, wailing loudly, [152]
the women cutting their scalps with sharpened bones until the blood flows freely.
After a short period of wailing the men form a group apart from the women [533]
and chant the long series of songs which belong to the totemic group of their
dead companion. Next morning the men proceed with the rites of burial, first [302]
by rubbing red ochre over the body of the corpse, and on that painting his
totemic design.[13] The men also make two bark effigies[14] which they put under
the arms of the corpse. They explain to him that the effigies are his children,
whom they have killed and placed beside him to prevent him being lonely and
wishing to return to haunt the living. The corpse is then wrapped in a thick
layer of paper-bark and tied with string.

While all this is being done, other men are erecting a platform of logs about 417
five feet in height and covering it with a layer of leaves. Then, while the men 764
chant another series of totemic songs belonging to the dead man, two aborigines

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[13] This totemic design is the same as that painted on his body during circumcision. See body paintings associated with circumcision, Pl. 128. Warner (1937), pp. 415-16, in his description [304]
and interpretation of the mortuary rituals of the Murngin, an adjacent people, records that the totemic design is painted on the body of the dead man so that the spirits, or *Mokoi*, can identify him.

[14] Similar to the bark figures, Fig. 65C, D. Frazer (1936), p. 59, records: 'In Tahiti . . . the priest took a number of small slips of plantain leaf-stalk, fixed two or three pieces under [171]
each arm of the corpse, placed a few on the breast, and then, addressing the corpse, said, "There are your family, there is your child, there is your wife, there is your father, and there is your mother. Be satisfied yonder (that is, in the world of the spirits). Look not toward those who are left in this world."'

Three *dua* men, *h, h, h,* and two *jiritja* men, *j, j,* are performing the totemic 764
dances of the dead man, the cross-hatching between the figures symbolizing the
dust rising from under their feet. At *g* is a *dua* woman ready to take the skeleton 532*
apart, and at *m* a *jiritja* woman waiting with the bark coffin.

Plate 100B deals with the third and final stage of burial, the transference of the bones from the bark to the log coffin.[25] In panel *a* there are two *dua* log coffins and one *jiritja*, the *jiritja* being in the middle. In the left of panel *b* are two bark coffins, the left-hand one containing the bones of a *jiritja* man and the right-hand one the bones of a *dua* man.[26] The cross-hatched panels on both sides of the coffins are the forked sticks of the burial platform, and the vertical panel *c* the framework. The various performers in the ceremony are depicted in panels *d, e, f* and *g*, each group holding their hands and arms in a manner peculiar to their moiety and sex.

Thus, in panel *e* the *jiritja* women are dancing with their hands held at
waist level, and on panel *f*, the *dua* women, with their knuckles held tightly [184]
against their heads. On panel *g*, the *dua* men are holding both hands above their [516]
heads, and at *d* the *jiritja* men have one hand held high and the other at waist
level. In the right of panel *b*, two men are providing music for the dancers, the 616
jiritja (right) blowing the drone tube and the *dua* (left) singing and beating his
music sticks.

Plate 101D is divided into seven panels, each picturing some phase of the second, third or fourth stages of the ceremonies.

In panel *a* (lower right), the dead man, the central figure, is being lifted
from the burial platform by four aborigines, two on each side. The small figure [482]
at the feet of the corpse represents one of the wives whose duty it is to clean the
bones. In the next panel, *b*, one man is blowing the drone tube, and to the right of him another is singing and beating his music sticks together. The central figure of this panel is a woman wrapping the bones in paper-bark to remove the smell before they are placed in the temporary bark coffin. The four figures on the right are women performing the burial dance. On panel *c* (lower left) are six more dancing women.

The upper left panel, *d*, shows the bones, now encased in the temporary bark coffin, being passed to the mother, or the wife, of the deceased (central position). On the lower edge of the same panel, reading from the left, is a drone-tube player, one man beating his music sticks and singing and five women dancing. The two lines of men on the upper edge are performing a totemic dance at the same time as the bark coffin is being handed to the woman. The remaining panels depict the final disposal of the bones in the log coffin. In *e* are seven men and the log coffin containing the bones, whilst in panel *f* the women are dancing. Some men are playing the drone tube in panel *g*, others are beating the music represent the mouth and teeth of an unknown mythical monster. There was no explanation for the fish designs on the lower right. 764 532*

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[25] See bark coffin, Yirrkalla, Pl. 102C, D, and Milingimbi, Pl. 103B, C.

[26] This painting suggests that on some occasions the bones of the members of both moieties are transferred to their respective log coffins at the same time.

Fresh-water Fish, Kwiwarina

Plate 105C, D belongs to a member of the fresh-water fish, *kwiwarina*, totem of the *dua* moiety, whose totemic place is on the Glyde River. The more or less triangular designs, upper left, represent huts, called *ambit*, and the oval designs on the other panels, women's carrying-baskets. The dots on the edge of the baskets symbolize the mythical fresh-water fish, *kwiwarina*, and the cross-hatching inside, smaller fish. As in A, the holes are the 'eyes' of the coffin, and the prongs the teeth and jaws of some unidentified monster.

Unidentified Totem

Plate 103A, B is a coffin of an unidentified totem from Milingimbi. In the upper central panel, A, the bird is an emu, and the pear-shaped designs, yams. Three large fresh-water fish occupy the upper right. Below them is a cat-fish, *kingding* (distinguished by the tentacles from the mouth and the lack of fins), and near the head of the cat-fish, a diamond fish. Three king-fish, *jungala*, are shown in the lower left panel, and three cat-fish, *kingding*, in the lower central panel.

(c) THE JOURNEY OF THE DEAD SPIRIT AND ITS AFTER-LIFE

775 When the log coffin has been placed in its final position and the people have returned to their camps, the spirits of the dead leave their bones, and according to their moiety, travel to their respective 'heaven'. In these 'heavens' there is always pleasant weather and ample food. Everyone is happy, because each spirit on its arrival, whatever its previous disposition, is changed into a person of equable temperament and good health. All day long the spirits may bask in the sun, talking to old friends about their mutual experiences when on earth together, and every evening they perform their favourite ceremonies and sing their favourite songs. Many of the spirit people, however, amuse themselves by going out in their canoes to hunt the sea-creatures for food.[40]

775 616 Although the *dua* and *jiritja* myths of the journey of the spirit to the land of the dead have many points of resemblance, the destinations are different, the *dua* spirits travelling east to Purelko,[41] an island near the sunrise, and the *jiritja* to Nalkuma,[42] a land to the north, where in addition to the usual

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[40] See *dua* myths, *Turi-turi*, p. 329, and *Balu-balu*, p. 132; also *jiritja* myth of *Kultana*, p. 329, the *Mokoi* and the dugongs, p. 315.

[41] Warner (1937), p. 521, tells an interesting myth of the journey of a mortal man to Purelko.

[42] Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 51, record that Badu (Mulgrave Island in the Torres Straits) is the *jiritja* home of the dead. My Yirrkalla *jiritja* informants said that Nalkuma, their 'heaven', is to the north. It would appear, however, from the myth associated with the carved figure of *Jindjamani* (Pl. 139J, K), p. 441, that the *jiritja* groups at Arnhem Bay have a different 'heaven' from that of the aborigines of Yirrkalla. [184]

[text continues on p. 325]

3: Mountford E-5 (1948) 1956 OI17 Muragin OI17

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aboriginal foods there are many coco-nut trees and much tobacco.[43] These exotic foods do not exist in the *dua* heaven.

(i) *The Journey of the Dua Spirits of the Dead*

As soon as the mourners have left the final burial ground, the *dua* spirit leaves his bones, and entering a bark canoe, is paddled by a *Mokoi*, the first man who died, to Jumundi, a jungle on the western shores of Melville Bay. At Jumundi he meets a number of other spirits called together for the occasion by the two *Mokoi*, *Waluwait* and *Bunbulama*.[44] The new spirit and the *Mokoi* dance all night, carrying in their hands the jungle-flower, *wakoro-nani*, collected by the woman, *Bunbulama*. When morning comes the spirit of the dead man and his ghostly boatman leave for Dambalia, accompanied by a number of dolphins.[45]

The boatman and his companion spend the next night at Dambalia (Bremer Island), performing ceremonies and dancing. This time they carry in their hands the red flower of a yam called *mawoka*.[46] Next morning the spirits start on the last stage of the journey for the distant isle of Purelko. After paddling for many days toward the sunrise and the place where the morning star, *barnumbir*, rises above the horizon, the two boatmen, accompanied by many dolphins, reach their destination. As they land and walk along a path a masked plover, *berrk-berrk* (an onomatopoeic name), which has been watching for their arrival, rises from the ground with a shrill call, a call which tells the inhabitants of Purelko of the arrival of a new spirit. The leader of Purelko, *Jaualin-wura*, a man with a painted penis, meets and welcomes the new arrival and offers him wives and food.

After the new spirit has met his wives, established his camp and satisfied his hunger, he is welcomed by many of his old friends. Later, when walking through the trees, he surprises two women who are gathering food. The women run quickly to their camp, distinguished by the smoke rising from the many cooking fires, and tell the men of Purelko that they have just seen a new spirit. The men form themselves into a line, spears in hand, and wait. When the dead man sees them, he endeavours to distract their attention by dancing first the brolga dance, then the moon-fish dance. But the spirit men of Purelko quietly wait until the visitor has finished his dances before they cast their spears into his body, one

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[43] The aborigines believe that the coco-nuts, lengths of bamboos and occasionally canoes (see engraved pipe, Fig. 63B) which are cast up on the Yirrkalla beaches during the northerly, *lunguruma*, winds are sent to them by the spirits of Nalkuma. The *lunguruma* winds (see winds, p. 133) which originate at Nalkuma are also a gift from the spirits of the dead. [823

[44] See myth of *Waluwait* and *Bunbulama*, p. 296. 824]

[45] Warner (1937), p. 366, records that the porpoises (dolphins) take the spirits of the *dua* Milingimbi men to Purelko. At Yirrkalla, the dolphins carry only the spirits of the *dua* children to Purelko. [825]

[46] In one account, a ceremonial object made from the yam, *mawoka*, and its flower is taken from Dambalia to Purelko, where it was transformed into the morning star, *barnumbir*. It is not clear whether this flower is carried by every spirit that passes through Dambalia, or whether it was made in creation times, and is now permanently at Purelko.

775 after another. At first the spears penetrate deeply into his flesh, but after a while it becomes so hard and tough that the spears cannot even pierce the skin.[47]
616 While this is going on, the women sit on the ground and wail in sympathy for the sufferings of the new spirit.

This ordeal over, the men of Purelko take the new spirit to their camp, tell him that he has passed his initiation, teach him many new songs and dances and invite him to join in their ceremonies.

The method of entry of the spirit of a woman is somewhat different. When the masked plover, ***berrk-berrk,*** announces the arrival of a new spirit and the head man, *Jaualin-wura*, finds out that it is a woman, he sends a small child along the track which leads from the beach to Purelko, telling it to find its mother and bring her to him. *Jaualin-wura* always camps on that track so that no one can reach Purelko without being properly prepared. After *Jaualin-wura* has met the new arrival and, if necessary, transformed her into a young woman in good health, she stays in his camp until she is pregnant. She is then admitted to Purelko where, after a short and painless period of gestation, she gives birth to
[842] her child. The idea behind this belief is that a woman, who must be perfect to enter Purelko, has to show that she is capable of bearing a child.

775 Two women, *Dunjun-jina* and *Mitjuna*, live at Purelko and keep the morning
star, *barnumbir*, in a string bag, guarding it jealously all the day and most of
616 the night, lest it should escape. A little before dawn, *Jaualin-wura*, the head man
821 of Purelko, says to the women: 'It's time that you let the morning star out of that bag so that it can visit the *dua* camps on earth both to wake up the men, women and children and to give them the messages from the dead.'

The woman *Mitjuna* objects strongly to this suggestion, because she is afraid that she might lose *barnumbir*, but *Jaualin-wura* overrules her, and releases the morning star, which is already struggling to get out of the bag to perform its allotted tasks.[48] At first *barnumbir* rests on the top of a tall pandanus tree from which it can see a long distance. This causes the women to cry out in fear that they might lose the star, and to ask that it be returned to them. To pacify the women *Jaualin-wura* pulls the morning star back again—it is on a string—and puts it in the bag. But, though the women are pleased, *Jaualin-wura* thinks of the aborigines on earth waiting for their messages. So he opens the bag again and allows *barnumbir* to escape. For a while the morning star dances along the surface of the water, but soon climbs rapidly into the sky. It visits each *dua* place
[*532] in turn,[49] wakes the aborigines and then gives them messages from their relatives and friends at Purelko. Just as dawn is breaking *Jaualin-wura* takes hold of the

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[764] [47] The body is speared when it is taken from the burial platform, p. 312. Warner (1937), p. 413, refers to the same practice. All the male spirits have to pass through this initiation ritual at Purelko. There are different rituals for the women, p. 326. There are no such ordeals in the
[184] *yiritja* heaven, Nalkuma.

[48] The *dua* moiety of Milingimbi have a similar belief. Myth, p. 320.

[49] See p. 327 for the list of *dua* localities.

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string, pulls in the star and, placing it in the carrying-bag, gives it to the women, who guard it until the next morning.

One bark painting, Pl. 99A, illustrates the *dua* journey of the dead; another, Pl. 101B, the flight of the *dua* morning star, *barnumbir*, from Purelko.[50]

The lower part of the right-hand panel, *a*, of Pl. 99A shows the dead spirit arriving at Junundi, on the western shores of Melville Bay, after he has been ferried across by his ghostly boatman. The dead man is in the stern. The upper part of the cross-hatching indicates the sea; the lower, the shore. The upper part, *b*, of the right-hand panel deals with the ceremony held by the *Mokoi* at Junundi, Melville Bay. On the right are two performers, each holding in their hands the red jungle-flower, *wakoru-nani*. A third man is blowing the drone tube, another beating the music sticks together, while three men, with their hands upraised, are chanting the songs.

In the lower part of the central panel, *c*, the dead man and his companion have crossed the sea, indicated by the vertical cross-hatched band *g*, and landed at Dambalia. Two of the *Mokoi* (*d*, upper central panel) are holding in their hands the flower of the yam, *mawoka*; others are either blowing the drone tube, beating the music sticks or singing.

The left-hand panel, *e*, pictures the arrival at Purelko. The tree-like design, panel *f*, is the morning star, *barnumbir*.[51] On the right-hand edge are two men, one blowing the drone tube, the other beating the music sticks. The birds on the upper and lower edge are the plovers, *berrk-berrk*, which announced the arrival of the new spirit and the small figure at the bottom, a child, who also saw his arrival. The new spirit is in the extreme lower left. Next to him is *Jayalin-wuru*, and in the upper left, a man who is singing. The vertical cross hatched band, *h*, is the sea between Dambalia and Purelko.

Plate 101B deals with the flight of the *dua* morning star, *barnumbir*. This painting has a dual meaning. In the first place, it represents the yam, *mawoka*, apparently a climbing plant, the flower of which is used by the *Mokoi* and the new spirit in the ceremonies at Dambalia. The design at the base is the yam, *mawoka*; the two ovals on the trunk, the fruit, *bukulita*; and the designs on the end of each branch, the blossoms. The swellings on some of the branches indicate where the creeper has twined itself round a tree.

The meaning of the painting is very different in the myth of the morning-star, *barnumbir*. The design at the base is the carrying-bag in which the morning star is imprisoned by the two women, *Dunjun-jina* and *Mitjuna*, standing either side. The women are objecting to the order from *Jaualin-wuru* that the morning star must be released. Each of the blossoms represents a locality.[52]

Starting from the lowest blossom on the left, and reading in a clockwise direction, the localities are:

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[50] Warner (1937), p. 527, records that *Barnumbir* only visits *dua* localities.

[51] See bark painting of morning star, Pl. 101A, in Milingimbi myth.

[52] Although I did not specifically inquire, the evidence suggests that each of these localities belongs to either a *dua* clan, *mala*, or language group, *mata*.

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1. North of Arnhem Bay
2. South of Arnhem Bay
3. Elcho Island
4. South of Rocky Beach, south of Yirrkalla
5. Dambalia (Bremer Island)
6. Wessel Islands
7. A small unidentified island in Buckingham Bay
8. English Company Islands, near Cape Wilberforce
9. Buckingham Bay, south side
10. Blue Mud Bay
11. Northern Blue Mud Bay
12. West Blue Mud Bay
13. Koolatong River
14. Between Caledon and Blue Mud Bays
15. Caledon Bay
16. Mt Saunders, between Port Bradshaw and Caledon Bay
17. Jelangbara, near Port Bradshaw
18. Port Bradshaw

I also collected a painting and myth from the Milingimbi area, which dealt with the Djiraia, the *dua* home of the dead (analagous to Purelko), and the morning star, *barnumbir*. Except for different names and locality, the beliefs are essentially the same. This painting indicates that the *dua* moiety of north-eastern Arnhem Land have more than one 'heaven'.

[776] Djiraia, the home of the dead and the morning star, is situated on a rocky island somewhere east of the English Company Islands (Fig. 1). Two spirit men, *Jumundik* and *Dalnuranu*, are in charge. When a member of the tribes who live adjacent to Milingimbi dies, no matter where he is, his spirit, after the burial ceremonies are completed, goes straight to Djiraia.[53] As the spirit approaches the shore two masked plovers announce his arrival. The spirits of the dead, the *Mokoi*, then stand on the shore to welcome him.

If a man or woman has been evil, malicious or bad-tempered, he is changed into a person of good nature before he enters the spirit land, because all must be happy and at peace with each other. Also, should the spirit be aged, infirm or sick, he is made young and healthy again, for in that country all must be well. In Djiraia there is no want, no hardships and no quarrels. There is an abundance of food everywhere, fish in the swamps and the seas, and kangaroos, emus and other game in the forest. It is never cold, so that everyone, being young and transformed into a good person, is happy. The days are spent in hunting and eating, and the evenings in song and ceremony.

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The morning star, *barnumbir*,[54] is kept in a cave under the care of two women, who sleep all day and most of the night. But just before dawn these women wake up and tell the two men, *Jumundik* and *Dalnuranu*, that it is time they stopped their singing and let the morning star out of the cave to wake up mankind, otherwise they will sleep all day long. When *barnumbir* is first released it dances up and down on the surface of the sea. It then climbs up a tall pandanus tree, then flies through the air to visit a number of localities where the aborigines live. When the dawn breaks the women take hold of the string

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[53] According to Warner (1937), p. 366, these spirits are carried by the porpoises (dolphins).
[54] See Milingimbi myth of morning star, Warner (1937), p. 527.

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attached to *barnumbir*, pull it back and imprison it in the cave until the next morning.[55]

On the lower left of Pl. 101A is *Jumundik*, with his wooden trumpet to the left of him and his two music sticks to the right. On the right is *Dalnuranu*, who, with *Jumundik*, is in charge of Djiraia. His wooden trumpet, *a*, and music sticks are on his right. The footprints are those of the *Mokoi* spirits at Djiraia. There was no explanation for the fish. The white circle on the top of the central design is the morning star, *barnumbir*, and the long rectangle below, the rays of light, called *balai-aba*, which issue from it.

A number of spirit people provide food for the inhabitants of their respective 'heavens'. *Turi-turi* is one of them.[56] 775
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One day *Turi-turi*, an expert fisherman, set out in a bark canoe to hunt for turtles. When he was far out to sea, a heavy storm came up, broke the canoe in halves and drowned *Turi-turi*.

After his death the spirit of *Turi-turi* went to Purelko, where he still spends all of his time catching green turtles for the inhabitants of that spirit land. The *dua Mokoi*, *Balu-balu*, also provide food for their companions at Purelko.[57]

Plate 106A shows the man, *Turi-turi*, paddle in hand, standing in his canoe. To the left is the green turtle he wanted to capture. The white cross-hatching on the lower edge represents the waves which destroyed *Turi-turi's* canoe and finally drowned him. The remainder of the background is the sea.

(ii) *The Journey of the Jiritja Spirits of the Dead*

When, at the completion of the burial ceremonies, the bones of the dead man are placed in the log coffin, the spirit leaves its bones, with which it has been associated since death, and, guided by the call of the jungle-fowl, makes its way to a forest, Gurila, north of Port Bradshaw. There it is met by female *Mokoi* called the *Wulu-wulu*,[58] whose duty it is to assist the spirit of newly-dead to reach the *jiritja* 'heaven', Nalkuma. The *Wulu-wulu* takes the new spirit to another *Mokoi*, *Kultana*, the head man of Nalkuma, who first gives him two paddles, then instructs him how to make a special wooden canoe, called *jililbun*,[59] in which both can travel to Nalkuma. When the canoe is finished and the two are ready to set out on their journey, the women, *Wulu-wulu*, give the new spirit two seed pods, *gurung-guru*, of the *menin* vine (*Mucuna gigantea*),[60] which will serve him as a passport to Nalkuma. Any spirit who tries to gain admittance to the land of the dead without this passport is hunted away.

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[55] This is similar to the Yirrkalla myth of the morning star, p. 326, except that at Yirrkalla the two women object to the release of the morning star.

[56] The myths of *Turi-turi* and the *Balu-balu* are analagous to those of the *jiritja Mokoi* who come to Cape Arnhem in their wooden canoes to capture dugongs for the inhabitants of Nalkuma.

[57] See myth of *Balu-balu*, p. 172, associated with a painted paddle, Pl. 114E, F.

[58] See myth of carved figure of *Wulu-wulu*, p. 343.

[59] In another part of the same myth this canoe is called *Lampu*.

[60] See Pl. 100C for illustration of these seed pods.

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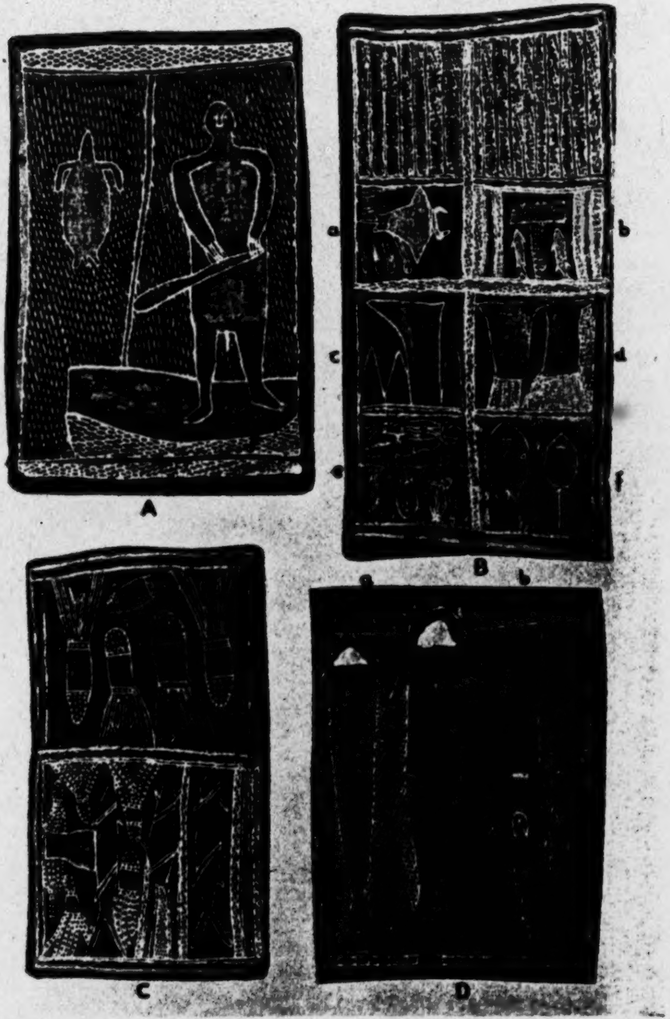

PLATE 106. Bark paintings, Yirrkalla

A The man, Turi-turi
B Totemic creatures, Cape Arnhem
C The queen fish, turtle and octopus
D The whale and the stingray

Meanwhile some of the inhabitants of Nalkuma, knowing of the impending 775 arrival of the new spirit, have paddled to Cape Arnhem to capture a dugong so 616 that there will be food for the welcoming ceremony. Others light a grass fire, the smoke of which will guide *Kultana* and his companion to their destination.

The inhabitants of Nalkuma, when they see the canoe in the distance, assemble on the shore to welcome the new arrival. His immediate friends first embrace him, then invite him to take part in the meal of dugong flesh, recently captured at Cape Arnhem. Afterwards they perform with him their favourite dances and songs. After all these activities are over the people of Nalkuma help 821 their new companion to prepare his camp. This activity causes so much dust to rise into the sky that large cumulus clouds are formed.[61] When the aborigines on earth see those clouds they know the spirit of the man whose bones they had 616 recently placed in his log coffin has reached Nalkuma, and that their period of 775 mourning is over. 532*

Three bark paintings deal with the *jiritja* heaven, Nalkuma.

Plate 100D depicts the *jiritja* heaven, Nalkuma. In panel *a* are three spirit men in the canoe, *Lampu*. Reading from the left, they are, *Deiluru*, *Urumula* and *Teri-teri*, all of whom are on their way from Nalkuma to Cape Arnhem to spear dugongs. In the upper left of the same panel and the lower right of panel *d* is *Kultana*, the head man of Nalkuma, smoking a pipe, for tobacco has always been available in Nalkuma. The long symbol on panel *b* is the cumulus cloud which forms on the top of the dust cloud caused by the spirits when preparing the camp. The triangular symbols *c*, on the left of the same panel, are the small clouds which are present after the cumulus has disintegrated.

Panel *e*, on the top of the painting, refers to the happenings at Nalkuma on the arrival of the new spirits. At *f*, on the upper left, is one of the new spirits being embraced by an old friend, and the nine figures along the upper edge are other spirits waiting to be welcomed. On the opposite edge of the same panel are a number of *Mokoi* ready to take part in the welcoming ceremony. The central line of eight figures are *Mokoi* swimming in the sea. The trees, *g*, *g*, *g*, are *kanari* (*Calophyllum inophyllum*) and the dark mark in the branches is the dense shade which this tree, with its large leaves, casts on the ground.

On Pl. 100A, panels *a*, *b* and *c* refer to the burial rituals. These have already been described on p. 314. Panels *d* and *e* deal with the journey of the dead to Nalkuma, and *f* to their reception at that place. On the left-hand edge of panel *d* are four of the female *Wulu-wulu* who live in the Gurila jungle of Port Bradshaw. They are giving the seed pods of the *menin* vine, *gurung-guru*, to the new spirit, centre. To the right are the two jungle-fowls whose call guided him to this locality.

In the upper right, panel *e*, the new spirit is being paddled to Nalkuma by the chief *Mokoi*, *Kultana*. A number of inhabitants of the home of the dead,

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[61] Cumulus clouds often form on the top of the smoke of bush-fires. Clouds of dust could cause the same phenomenon.

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775 panel *f*, are welcoming the new spirit to his future home. In the upper part of *e* the new spirit is resting quietly in his camp after the ceremony is over.

*532 Plate 100E also deals with the journey of the *jiritja* dead to Nalkuma.

On the upper left of panel *a*, the new spirit is asking the *Wulu-wulu* for the seed pods, *gurung-guru*, of the *menin* vine (Pl. 100C), so that he can enter Nalkuma. Three female *Mokoi*, the *Wulu-wulu*,[62] are picking the seed pods to give to him. The black bird is the jungle-fowl whose call has guided the new spirit to Gurila jungle. At *d*, the new spirit and the boatman, *Kultana*, are in the *Mokoi* canoe, *Lampu*, while in the bottom is a dugong they have captured and are taking with them to Nalkuma. To the left of the canoe are two dugongs, the white cross-hatching at the tail of the lower, and above the upper one, representing their wake. Panel *b* is the sandy shore at Port Bradshaw, *c* the shallow water, and *d* the open sea.

(2) The Totemic Places and Creatures of Port Bradshaw and Cape Arnhem

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[616] In north-eastern Arnhem Land, where strong patrilineal clans or *mala* have the complete ownership of certain areas, the totemic places in those clan territories belong exclusively to the moiety of the aborigines who own the land. To show the richness of the mythology associated with one particular area, but which is typical of others, I have grouped all the art objects relating to the *jiritja* myths of Port Bradshaw and Cape Arnhem in one section.

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[423] The area around Cape Arnhem, and, so far as I could ascertain, within the harbour of Port Bradshaw, having been created by a number of *jiritja* mythical men and creatures, is owned today by *jiritja* men of the *gumaitj mata* or language group. Although the *dua* ancestors, *Djunkgao* and *Madalait*, landed on Aparina Island, at the entrance of Port Bradshaw,[63] they do not appear to have entered the harbour, but established their camp at Jelangbara, a few miles north of its entrance. Jelangbara is the property of the *dua* men of the *riredjingu mata*.

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[823] Even though most of the *jiritja* totemic beings of Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw were harmless marine creatures, several of them are still feared. For instance, in a group of submerged rocks at Daliwa, between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw, lives the serpent, *bilumbira*.[64] Should aborigines paddle too near his home, *bilumbira* will rise to the surface and with his long teeth, tear them and their canoe to pieces. The dugong, *merinjunga*,[65] at Nangata, south of Cape Arnhem, blows up smoke and fire to destroy his enemies, while the hawksbill turtle, *kouwaradji*,[66] creates heavy seas which drown those who intrude on his domain. Within Port Bradshaw are two other dangerous creatures, the devil-ray, *mulara*, and the trepang, *teripi*. The former creates huge waves, and the latter squirts up fountains of water to destroy any trespassers.

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[62] See carved figure, Pl. 140c.

[63] See myth of *Djunkgao* and the *Baijini*, p. 273.

[64] See myth of *bilumbira*, p. 351.

[65] See myth of dugongs, p. 363.

[66] See myth of turtle, p. 417.

THE ART OF YIRRKALLA

During my stay at Yirrkalla a number of the *jiritja* aborigines of the *gumaitj* 616 *mata* produced paintings and decorated objects dealing with the totemic ancestors 773* and the mythology of Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw. They were: 532*

Port Bradshaw	
Baijini men and women	Pl. 107A
Spirit men, *Mokoi*	Pl. 109E, F
Hawksbill turtle, *kouwaradji*	Pl. 108C
Queen fish, *tinimbu*	Pl. 110B
Devil-ray, *mulara*	Pl. 110B
Stingray, *kawangalkmiri*	Pl. 108C
Octopus, *mainda*	Pl. 108C
Trepang, *teripi*	Pl. 110B
Cape Arnhem	
Man, *Borolo-borolo*, and his wives, *Mainbuno* and *Wurungil*	Pl. 110D
Spirit men, *Mokoi*	Pl. 111A
Hawksbill turtle, *kouwaradji*	Pl. 109A
Queen fish, *tinimbu*	Pl. 106C
Devil-ray, *mulara*	Pl. 109C, D
Stingray, *kawangalk-miri*	Pl. 106D
Octopus, *mainda*	Pl. 106C
Serpent, *bilumbira*	Pl. 112A, D
Crocodile, *barou*	Pl. 122A
Rock cod, *kouper*	Pl. 106B
Whales, *morokundja* and *welerria*	Pl. 106D
Dugong, *merinjunga*	Pl. 109B

(a) PORT BRADSHAW

Mythical Human Beings

The Baijini

At Port Bradshaw there is a puzzling myth of a fair-skinned people who 773*
during early times went there in search of trepang. The aborigines assert that 173
the *Baijini* were not at Port Bradshaw during *bamun* (creation) times but were 177
there soon afterwards, long before the Malays started to visit the coasts of Arnhem Land. The aborigines are certain the *Baijini* were not Malays, their skin being much lighter in colour.[67] They brought their wives with them (the Malays did not) and always carried a long knife, probably a sword. The uprights of their houses were made of local timber but the walls were strips of bamboo which the *Baijini* brought in their boats. The roof was thatched with unidenti-

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[67] The aborigines likened the skin of the *Baijini* to that of the sun-burned members of our party.

776 There are two bark paintings illustrating the dugong hunt at the totemic
*773 place of the *Mokoi*, between Cape Arnhem and Port Bradshaw.

Plate 111A shows two *Mokoi* in a canoe hunting four dugongs. The black line
*532 between the two lower dugongs is the long dugong spear. The white cross-hatching in this panel indicates the rough seas which allowed the dugongs to escape. The upper and lower left-hand panels, *a* and *c*, are sand-banks near the totemic place of the dugongs and *b* is a mythical stingray. By burying itself in the sand the stingray has clouded the water so much that it has the appearance of smoke, indicated by cross-hatching.

Plate 111D deals with the same totemic place as the previous painting. On the lower right are two *Mokoi* in their canoe, and below them three queen fish, *tinimbu.* In the left-hand panel the four dugongs are being hunted by the *Mokoi* and on the upper right is the upturned canoe of the hunters, now a large rock on the seashore. Cross-hatching, as before, indicates rough seas which prevented the capture of the dugongs.

The Mokoi, Delururu, Rangi-rangi and Kultana

[616 Two brothers, *Delururu* and *Rangi-rangi*, accompanied by *Kultana*, who
775] carry the spirits of the *jiritja* dead to their heaven, left Nalkuma in their canoe, *Lampu*, and paddled to the totemic place of the *Mokoi* at Cape Arnhem to spear dugongs. They had captured several and were resting on the beach when they saw a mortal man searching for turtle eggs. This gave the party such a fright that they hurried back to their canoe and paddled homeward as quickly as possible.[95]

In the centre of Pl. 111B are three *Mokoi* in their wooden canoe, called *Lampu*,[96] who have just speared a dugong. Reading from the left, their names are *Delururu*, *Rangi-rangi* and *Kultana.* The cross-hatching around the dugong is the rough sea water and the triangular patterns, *a*, the cumulus clouds created by the serpent, *bilumbira.* Above the canoe are five queen fish, *tinimbu.*

The Mokoi, Jambula and Bulanuna

Two *Mokoi*, a father, *Jambula*, and his son, *Bulanuna*, went to sea in their canoe, called *Tamalania*,[97] and speared a hawksbill turtle. This they took to a locality at Cape Arnhem, cooked and ate it. The canoe and the turtle are now parts of the topography of the coast of Cape Arnhem.

At *a*, on the right-hand panel of Pl. 111C, is *Jambula*, left, and his son, *Bulanuna*, returning to land with the turtle they have captured lying in the bottom of the canoe. An octopus and two queen fish are in the same panel.
[177 When, in still weather, these queen fish jump out of the water they cause the

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[95] This is a myth similar to that of *Birikiri* depicted on the engraved paddle, Fig. 58F.
[96] Wooden canoes are *jiritja* and bark canoes *dua*. This conforms to the custom of the
616] aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land of placing all modern objects in the *jiritja* moiety and the ancient ones in the *dua*. The canoes of the spirit people all have special names.
[551 [97] The aborigines have personal names for themselves, their dogs and their canoes.

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*773 825 journeyed northward until they reached the Kariatpa swamps[28] at Caledon Bay. These were so full of fish that the reptiles decided to make it their permanent camp. Being cold and uncomfortable the crocodiles, with the aid of the blanket lizard, made a fire and were just sitting down to warm themselves, when a little bird, *djiriku*, came along and asked if he could join them. But he had no sooner stretched out to get warm than the fire exploded, scattering embers everywhere. This gave the creatures a great fright; the *baru* dived into the water and even today, as crocodiles, seldom come to land; *baltjira* changed himself into a lizard and ran up the trunk of a tree; and the little bird, *djiriku*, was burnt so badly that his feathers are now a reddish-brown colour.[29] The fire went underground but the smoke, according to the aborigines, still rises from a hole in the ground near the Kariatpa swamps.[30]

*773 825 *532 One engraved pipe and a bark painting deal with the myth of the crocodile, *baru*. The pipe is described elsewhere.[31]

Plate 117B illustrates the crocodile and its nest at the Kariatpa swamps of Caledon Bay. The vertical lines of lozenge shapes, *a, a*,[32] are leaves of the spike rush, and the horizontal lines, *b, b*, the places where the crocodile pushed the grass aside as it walked through the swamp. On the lower right, at *c*, is the crocodile's nest covered with grass. The lozenges within the nest are eggs and those at each end the grass which the crocodile pulled over the nest to hide its eggs.

The Dua Snakes of the Tjutjulili Swamps of Trial Bay

*773 825 ● [616] At the beginning of time, all the dangerous snakes belonging to the *dua* moiety lived in a cave situated on an open plain called Tjutjulili, near Trial Bay. They had as their leader a female snake, *dunbania*, who is now the tiger snake.

On the seashore near by there was a tribe of peaceful fish people who gained their living from the sea. One day, before they went to an adjacent mangrove creek to fish, they put some crabs to cook on the fire. When later they returned to camp, tired and hungry, they found that the *guladjuru*, called the 'dogs' of the snakes, had taken the food from the fire and eaten it. The fishers were so annoyed that they tracked the 'dogs' and killed them. When the snakes heard of this, they were most indignant and, arming themselves with spears, set out, with the tiger snake woman at their head, to punish the fish people. They, being

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[28] Map, Fig. 57.

[29] Mountford (1948), p. 26, records a Pitjandjara myth which states that the present markings of many of the small desert birds and reptiles are the result of burns received in a bush fire.

[171] [30] See myth of the bandicoot and fire. There is also an Aranda myth of Central Australia which states that smoke issues from the ground at a place west of Alice Springs where there had been an extensive bush fire during creation times. Similarly, in the northern Flinders Ranges of South Australia the myths relate how, after the snake *akurra* rose from the summit of Mt Fitton, the mountain has given out smoke ever since. As there are no active volcanoes in Australia, it may be that these myths are a tribal memory of seismic activity with which the aborigines were associated in the long distant past. Mountford (1937, 1942), field notes.

[31] Engraved pipe, Fig. 58.

[32] This is a *gumaitj mala* design, Fig. 61B.

*773 edge, those made by the mythical man as he walked to Milungwira, and those
*532 on the left, where he returned.

Plate 121A refers to the dog, *dulairuju*, and his pursuit of the rat, *nik-nik*, in
825 the Milungwira swamp. On the top edge of the painting is a line of dog tracks. Below them are four white herons surrounded by their footprints. At *a* is a male and female dog, each holding a rat, *nik-nik*, in its mouth; the male dog, *dulairuju*, is on the left. Below is a transverse panel, *b*, of dingoes and their tracks. The central panel, *c*, is swamp grass, the home of *nik-nik*. At *d* is a panel of dingo tracks, and at *e* another panel of five dingoes. In the middle of panel *f* the rat, *nik-nik*, is hiding from the dog in the middle of a thicket of swamp grass; *g* is a line of five white herons, *balir*, and their tracks.

On Pl. 121C the bulk of the painting consists of sinuous bands (running water), joined by straight lines (ripples on the surface of the water). The rectangle in the middle of the lower panel is the swamp, Milungwira. In its upper section four cormorants (*Phalacrocorax* sp.) are chasing four fish, called *bilda*. In the panel below are more cormorants. The transverse bands indicate subsidiary swamps at Milungwira. Reading from the left, the figures on the bottom panel are: three clouds, *balda*, the mythical man, *Laitjun*, four frogs, and five logs lying in the water of the swamp.[53]

Plate 121D is another bark painting associated with the topography of Milungwira. The top cross-hatched band, *a*, is the bed of the river, Girituwi, in which there are many waterfalls and rapids. The fish-shaped design in the lower panel is a totemic rock, called Tikorora, whose bottom, according to the myth, is in the mud and whose top is in the clouds. The four short transverse lines of
*532 lozenge-shaped designs above and below Tikorora indicate whirlpools which
825 form at its base during heavy rains.

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The Island, Garabi

Garabi is a string of small islands outside Caledon Bay, all belonging to the
[423] *jiritja* moiety. In creation times, when the creatures were men, the islands were
● [616] the home of the hump-backed whale, *morokundja*, the stingray, *barindjinou*, the queen fish, *tinimbu*, the crocodile, *barou*, and the hawksbill turtle, *kouwarndji*. Later these mythical beings transformed themselves into creatures which still frequent Garabi and their bodies into natural features in the adjacent country. The whales are two rugged islands, part of the Garabi chain. They also went
[821] into the sky and became a section of the Milky Way,[54] near the constellation of Orion.

During those early times the crocodile man, *Barou*, murdered one of the stingray people. When the head man of the stingrays heard of the murder, he met and fought the crocodile, finally wounding him with the spear he now carries in his tail. This fight made everything square and established the first *makaraka*.

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[53] Interpretation by F. D. McCarthy.

[54] See astronomical myth of Orion and the Pleiades, p. 196.

*773 *532 The yams are engraved in panel *a*, and their foliage indicated by the decorative chevron-like designs at *b* and *c*. The pattern *d* on the upper right, with a meandering line down the centre, is a small fresh-water stream near the totemic place.

The Man, Tualpa, and the Sacred Tree of Blue Mud Bay

This painted pipe represents a sacred tree which once grew on the shores of Blue Mud Bay. One day a man (unnamed), not knowing that the tree was sacred, cut it down to make a special spear, called *bunungara*. *Tualpa*, the owner of the tree, was so angry over the vandalism that he speared the culprit. [623] The dead tree now lies at the mouth of a lagoon emptying into Blue Mud Bay. During the wet season it is submerged by the fresh water flowing from the swamps into the sea. When the swamps are dry, the log is sometimes covered by the high tide.

The transverse bands, *e*, *e*, on Pl. 128B represent the tide marks on the tree; the cross-hatched panel, *a*, the fresh water; and *b*, *c* and *d*, the sea-water, which during the dry season alternately covers and uncovers the tree-trunk.

The Four Jiritja Men of Melville Bay

During *bamun* (creation times) four *jiritja* men,[83] *Djamburi*, *Wanatjai*, *Dandarunga* and *Kainoltja*, created a number of natural features at each of their camps along the shores of Melville Bay.

Plate 128A is the complete design of the painted pipe; *a* is *Djamburi*, *b* is *Wanatjai*,[84] *c* *Dandarunga*, and *d* *Kainoltja*. Each of these men is smoking a pipe. The four squares at *f* are four wells, each man having his own. Their footprints are in panel *e*.

5. BODY PAINTINGS

302 *532 619 881 [424] In north-eastern Australia the art of body painting is most important, for it is by means of the designs painted on the novices during the various age-grading ceremonies, and on the fully initiated men whilst engaged in their totemic rituals, that the totem, the clan group, *mala*, and the linguistic group, *mata*, of each individual can be recognized. As far as the present evidence goes (the investigation is far from complete) it seems that each *mata*, which may include several *mala*, has its own specific design, which is the personal property of that group and cannot be used by any other.[85] During the circumcision ceremonies[86]

● [616 276 424] [83] It is the mythical men of the *jiritja* moiety only who smoke. It is of interest to notice that the four men, depicted on this pipe are not smoking the long Malay pipe, but one which resembles those used by our own party, called by the aborigines *Baijini* pipes. Nowadays all aborigines smoke, but a member of one moiety will not use a pipe decorated with the designs of the opposite moiety without the owner's permission. If he did so, the spirit of the pipe would make him ill.

[84] See bark painting of *Wanatjai*, Pl. 95B.

[85] See myth of the origin of the design of the crabs, *gunjun*, p. 298.

[86] In north-eastern Arnhem Land the boys are circumcised when they are from six to eight years of age.

[text continues on p.402]

302 881 619 *532 I witnessed at Yirrkalla each of the four boys was painted with the *mata* design of the particular language group to which he belonged.* The design would be his throughout life and even at death would be painted on his body. I found out the *mata* of each body painting, its meaning and its associated myth.

The Water-lily, Jouku, and the Wild Bees, Kamou, of Blue Mud Bay

302 *532 *773 ● 616 The myth of an unidentified totemic water-lily, *jouku*, belonging to the *jiritja* moiety of the Matamatani swamps is associated with several other totemic beings, the man *Wanamungaria*,[87] the man *Ngulamung*,[88] the toredo worm, *kaula-warak*, the queen fish, *tinimbu*,[89] the opossum, *marungo*, and the night-bird, *karawak*.[90] The wild bees, *kamou*, are also associated with the Matamatani swamps. These totemic bees, when disturbed by a bush-fire, flew to Milingimbi to escape destruction.[91]

Plate 129A illustrates the body painting of a *jiritja* boy of the *mangilili-dalwongu matas* of the Blue Mud Bay areas, the designs on the torso belonging to the *mangilili mata* (Fig. 64K) and those on the legs to the *dalwongu* (Fig. 64J). The central vertical panel represents a river at the totemic place of the water-lily, *jouku*, the U-shaped figure at the top being a large rock in the bed of that river. On the right-hand side of the abdomen is a fresh-water fish, *bittu*. The remainder of the paintings on the body are symbolical of either the blossoms or the leaves of the water-lily, *jouku*. The diamonds on the upper legs refer to hives of wild bees at the Matamatani swamps.[92]

The Man, Djunkgao, and his Sister, Madalait

The body designs[93] shown on Pl. 129B were painted on a *dua* boy of the *riredjingu mata* of Port Bradshaw (Fig. 64D). The three horizontal cross-hatched bands under the left armpit symbolize the waves of the sea which attracted *Djunkgao's* attention when he was beaching his canoe at Bilapinja Island.[94] The vertical panels immediately below are coastal sand-hills at Jelangbara, north of Port Bradshaw, and the long vertical panels on the right-hand side of the body are further parallel sand-hills which *Djunkgao* and his sister admired.[95] The horizontal bands across the left hip are the lines of sand which ran down the sides of a drifting sand-hill at Jelangbara, where the lizard, *tjunda*, walked along the crest.[96] The designs on the upper legs also indicate the sand running down the side of the same sand-hill.

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* *Australia: Aboriginal Paintings—Arnhem Land*, 1954, p. 13.

[87] Engraved pipe. Fig. 63A.

[88] Engraved pipe. Fig. 62D.

[89] Bark painting. Pl. 108C.

[90] Bark-painting. Pl. 115F.

[91] Bark painting. Pl. 93B.

[92] Bark painting. Pl. 93B.

[93] These and similar designs are used extensively in picturing the myth of *Djunkgao* and *Madalait* at Port Bradshaw.

[94] Pl. 85F.

[95] Pl. 86D.

[96] Pl. 86B.

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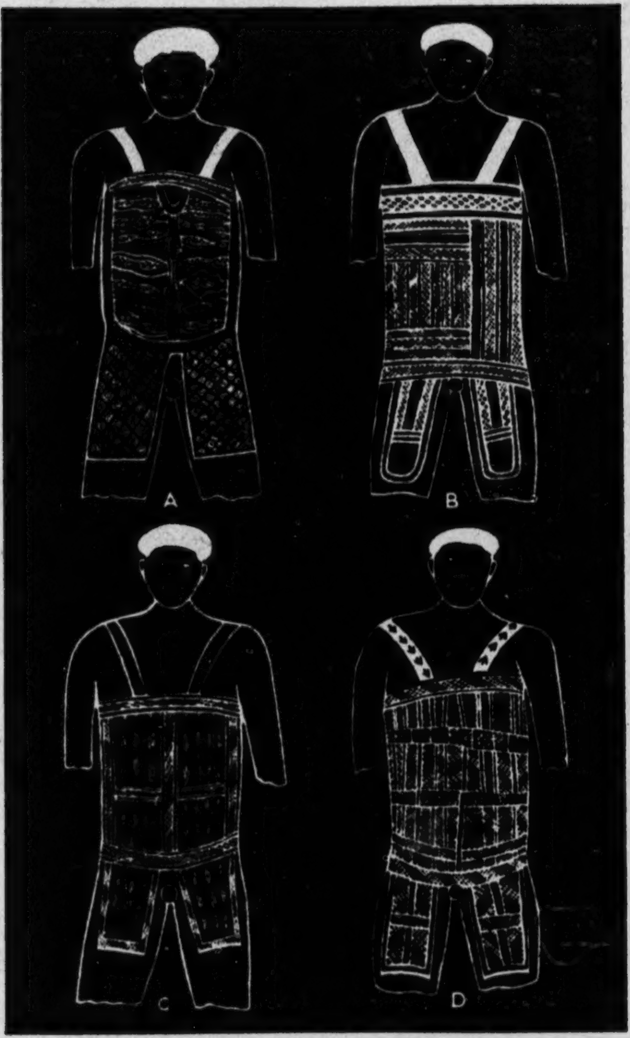

PLATE 129. Body designs of initiates, Yirrkalla

A The water-lilies, jouku, and the fish, biltu
B Djunkgao and Madalait
C The bush-fire and the eucalyptus trees
D The geese, wurumatji

The Bush-fire and the Eucalyptus Trees of the Gainmaui Swamp, Caledon Bay

*773 *532 [828] During creation times some men, whilst performing a ceremony at the Gainmaui swamp, south of Caledon Bay, left a camp-fire unattended. The fire spread, burning the whole countryside, including the men themselves.[97] They are now white-barked eucalyptus trees, *guriri*, which, at certain times in the year, shed small flakes of bark from their trunks, exposing the whiter bark underneath.

● [616] Plate 129C pictures the body painting of a *jiritja* boy of the *gumaitj mata* of Caledon Bay. The vertical cross-hatched panels on the body are three totemic eucalyptus trees at the Gainmaui swamp and the three transverse panels across the shoulders, abdomen and hips, their branches. The vertical lines of lozenge-shaped designs[98] on the body and the legs have two meanings, the bush-fire caused by the careless men, and the white patches on the trunks of the totemic eucalyptus trees.

The Geese, Wurumatji, of Duwalaila Swamp, Arnhem Bay

During creation times a flock of geese, *wurumatji*,[99] lived on the Duwalaila swamp, situated to the west of Arnhem Bay. Their food was *rakia*, the bulbs of the spike rush. One day the thunder-man, *Tjambuwal*,[1] when travelling over the Duwalaila swamp of Arnhem Bay in a storm, called out (thundered) so loudly that the geese took fright and flew westward to the swamps south of Milingimbi, where they have remained ever since.

[616] Plate 129D pictures the body painting of a *dua* boy of the *jambakbinwa mata* of western Arnhem Bay. The black squares throughout the design are the fresh-water swamps at Duwalaila, the one-time home of the *wurumatji*. The white dots within the squares are either the bulbs of *rakia* or white stones on the bottom of the swamp. The vertical bands joining the black squares indicate the paths made by the geese, *wurumatji*, as they walked from one swamp to the other in search of food, and the horizontal cross-hatched bands which link the squares, fresh-water streams flowing between the swamps. The bands across the shoulders and the hips are low ranges of hills near by. Goose tracks entering and leaving the swamp are indicated on the white bands passing over the shoulders. Cross-hatching throughout the painting is symbolical of the muddy water stirred up by the geese as they searched in the bottom of the swamp for the bulbs of the spike rush.

4. SAND FIGURES

532 857 Whilst at Yirrkalla we often watched the aboriginal children moulding figures of various creatures in the sand, or scratching them on the wet surface of the more expert they experimented with the carved figures until at the present time they are able to produce a creditable representation of the human form (see Pl. 135A, B). 532

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[97] For more complete myth, see p. 293.

[98] The same design is used on a number of bark paintings, Pl. 93D, Pl. 90B, C. It is a *mata* design of the *gumaitj* language group, Fig. 61N.

[99] See sacred object, Pl. 129C.

[1] For myth of *Tjambuwal* at Arnhem Bay, see p. 299.

From that time until comparatively recently the *jiritja*[18] men adopted the Macassan custom of using carved grave posts, but only when the body was buried instead of being placed on a platform. When a *jiritja* man died, his moiety asked a *dua* man to carve a mortuary post to place on the grave.[19] Later, when the body was disinterred and the burial dances were being performed a *jiritja* man, taking the mortuary post with him, went from camp to camp collecting food for the participants in the burial rituals.[20] At the completion of the meal the post was replaced on the empty grave. 764 616 ● 532*

The chief interest of the carved human figures lies in the fact that in a little over two generations the aborigines, without the help and for most of the time without even the knowledge of the white man, have taken a simple post figure of foreign origin and through improvement of techniques can now carve in wood heads and full-length human figures of considerable merit. 532* 177

The Rev. F. W. Chaseling, when a missionary at Yirrkalla, was the first to discover that the aborigines of that locality were carving the human figure in the round. This discovery came about in a curious manner. When King George V died, Chaseling, in one of his sermons, expressed grief at the great loss the nation had suffered. This sermon and the concern of the missionary over the loss of his king so impressed *Mauwulan* that he carved a mortuary post,[21] similar to those used on the *jiritja* graves, but which was supposed to resemble the King. This post *Mauwulan* presented to the missionary so that he would be reminded of his dead monarch. Chaseling, in 1938, realizing the importance of his discovery, presented the mortuary post to the Australian Museum, Sydney. Unfortunately the Museum authorities, unaware that the post was a unique example of aboriginal handicraft, did not describe it in a scientific journal. 532* 797 114

I was able to examine this figure early in 1949. It was the head of a bearded man (Pl. 138C, D) cut on the end of a hardwood post about four feet long and five inches in diameter. The face, about five inches long, consisted of eyes, a nose, lips and ears; the ears, however, being somewhat out of position.[22] The body of the pole is decorated with ceremonial string.

I also collected at Yirrkalla a number of human heads carved in wood, most of them representing spirit people or *Mokoi* who live in the surrounding jungles and eucalyptus forests. 532* 776

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[18] This was because the aborigines made *Bopalindi* a member of the *jiritja* moiety.

[19] According to Warner (1937), p. 431, at Milingimbi burial posts are placed on the graves.

[20] Warner (1937), p. 433, describes this food-collecting ritual at Milingimbi, and the Berndts (1949), p. 216, at Yirrkalla.

[21] Warner (1937), p. 501, refers to a burial post being erected on the aboriginal graves at Milingimbi. Elkin and the Berndts (1950), p. 48, record the finding of a burial post figure at the same locality.

[22] I am indebted to the Australian Museum, Sydney, for the photograph of this specimen, E.16535, and the relevant details.

*532 [915] The cross-hatching on the back and front of the figure indicates the tunic worn by the woman and the pattern on the legs, the stripes on her short trousers. The central disc is a money bag, held in place by the diagonal strings. The artist has indicated *Jubara's* long hair by a series of vertical lines.

The Wuruma Man

764 *532 ●[616] Plate 136C illustrates a mortuary post, called *wuruma*, which, according to my informants, is similar to those the visiting Macassan trepangers placed on the graves of their dead.[69] Until recently men of the *jiritja* moiety placed similar posts on the graves of their dead. Both Warner and the Berndts[70] describe some of the customs associated with their use.

The Woman, Wurati-laku

*532 *773 A mythical woman, *Wurati-laku*, who once lived on the Amakula River, Groote Eylandt,[71] became dissatisfied with her surroundings and started on a journey round the island. She camped at many places, at the Angoroko River, at Amalipa, at north-western Groote Eylandt, at Wangu-garipa, near Umbakumba, at Algirita, Lake Hubert, making her final camp at Natira, near Central Hill. Each of her camps became extensive outcrops of rocky boulders. *Wurati-laku*, afraid lest men other than her husband might see her, always ran away on their approach, covering herself with a sheet of bark. Until recently the women of Groote Eylandt copied the actions of the mythical woman, *Wurati-laku*. Whenever a strange man approached the camp they ran away, holding around their bodies sheets of hinged bark, called *inukumba*.[72]

Plate 135C, D illustrates the carved figure of *Wurati-laku*, the designs on the body representing those painted on the hinged sheet of bark, *inukumba*, which she always carried. The dots on her head represent the flower, *latulat*, she placed in her hair.

The Spirit Woman, Wulu-wulu

776 *532 [775] A number of these spirit women, or *Mokoi*, *Wulu-wulu*, live with a male *Mokoi*, *Kultana*, in the Gurila jungle, near Port Bradshaw. The *Wulu-wulu* assist the spirits of the *jiritja* dead on their journey to the *jiritja* 'heaven', Nalkuma,[73] by giving them as a passport the bean of a *menin* vine.

The central line on the carved figure of *Wulu-wulu*, Pl. 135E, is the trunk of the *menin* vine, the diagonals, the branches, and the ovals within the diagonals, the bean, *gurung-guru*,[74] which *Wulu-wulu* gives to the travelling spirits of the dead.

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[69] See origin of carved figures, p. 416.

[70] Warner (1937), p. 431; Berndts (1949), p. 216.

[71] See map, Fig. 4.

[72] Tindale (1925), p. 71, mentions the strict seclusion of the aboriginal women at Groote Eylandt.

[73] Bark painting, Pl. 100D.

[74] Pl. 100A.

*532 *Bunbulama* and her brother, *Wuluwait*. Bark figures are also used in the burial [767] ceremonies, where they are used to represent children. They are placed beside the corpse so that it will not be lonely.

*532 The figures of *Bunbulama* and *Wuluwait* have leaves and rushes stuck in the 778 head for hair. In the bark painting, Pl. 94C, these represent the swamp grass *773 in the rain-making bundles. Except for this, all the bark figures in my collection were similar in appearance. For that reason the figures of *Bunbulama* and *Wuluwait* only are illustrated.

The myths associated with the bark painting, Pl. 94C, the carved figure, Pl. 133A, B, and the bark figures, Fig. 65C, D, suggest that the myth of the *Mokoi*, *Bunbulama* and her brother *Wuluwait* covers two different activities. In the myth of the bark painting and the carved figure, the activities of the two *Mokoi* centre on rain-making. In the myth of the bark figure their chief function is to entertain the *dua* spirits of the dead on their journey from earth to their heaven, Purelko.

*773 776 The *Mokoi*, *Bunbulama* and her brother *Wuluwait*, live in a jungle called Mumubara, on the western shores of Melville Bay. In the early days *Wuluwait* was a good hunter of turtles. One day, when out in his canoe, he sighted a particularly large *dua* turtle floating on the water, but in spite of all his care he could not get close enough to spear it. Disappointed, *Wuluwait* returned and told *Bunbulama* about his bad luck. She persuaded him not to be worried about the loss of the turtle because, as there was always plenty of food on the sea coast and in the surrounding jungle, she would be able to collect sufficient food for them both. From then until now the woman, *Bunbulama*, has provided the food.

[775 ● 616] At the present time, however, it is the duty of these two *Mokoi* to entertain the *dua* spirits of the dead during the first evening of their journey to the *dua* heaven, Purelko. When it becomes dark the woman, *Bunbulama*, returning from the jungle with a bundle of red blossoms called *banamin*,[88] asks her brother to blow his drone tube, so that the travelling spirits will find *Bunbulama's* camp. When they arrive, everyone spends the hours of darkness in dance and ceremony, carrying in their hands the flowers gathered by *Bunbulama*.[89] As daylight approaches, the *dua* spirits of the dead depart on the next stage of their journey to Purelko, via Dambalia (Bremer Island), and the brother and sister go back into the dense jungle so that none of the aborigines can see them.

[*532] Figure 65C illustrates the bark figure of the woman, *Bunbulama*; Fig. 65D, her brother *Wuluwait*. Both figures have grass stuck in their head and a projection from the chin which represents a beard.[90]

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[88] In another myth, this flower is called *wakuno-naul*, p. 327.

[89] See myth of journey of the *dua* dead, p. 325.

[90] My informants stated that the woman, *Bunbulama*, wore a beard, similar to that of her brother. This beard, however, is not shown on the bark painting of these two people, Pl. 94C.

CARVED AND PAINTED FIGURES

5. FIGURES MOULDED IN WAX

(1) HUMAN FIGURES

Among the wax figures collected at Yirrkalla was one of the boomerang-man, *Oijal*, and one of his wife, *Neri-neri*. McConnel[91] records a waxen human figure used in the increase ceremonies of Cape York, and Elkin and the Berndts[92] several at Yirrkalla which, they claim, were used in imitative love magic and to cause the death of an enemy. 237 532* [171] [789]

Plate 104E is *Oijal* with boomerang-shaped designs painted on both the front and the back of the figure. Around his neck the lines of dots have the same meaning as in the bark painting, Pl. 29A, i.e. body decorations. Pl. 104F is *Neri-neri*, whose body is also decorated with lines of paint.

(2) CREATURES

The aborigines of north-eastern Arnhem Land are expert in the modelling of small animal and human figures, called *kamou korngi*, from the wax of the wild bees. This wax, much more plastic than that of the European bee, is warmed slightly over the fire and moulded into shape by the fingers. When the craftsman is satisfied with his modelling, he paints the figures with designs. These sometimes indicate the moiety and *mata* (language group) of the totemic [616] creature. McCarthy[93] figures a kangaroo, a turtle and a crocodile from a Yirrkalla collection presented to the Australian Museum by Rev. F. W. Chaseling.

Plate 143: A is the *dua* emu, *marluwai*. B is the green turtle, *gariwa*. The 532* totemic place of this *dua* creature is on the sea floor between Yirrkalla and 616 Bremer Island.[94] C is the *jiritja* night-bird, *karawak*, which was associated with 773* the opossum, *marungo*, at Cape Shield.[95] D is the queen fish, *tinimbu*, belonging to the *jiritja* myths of Cape Arnhem.[96] E is the bandicoot, *warnt-kura*, whose nest was destroyed by a bush-fire. The *gumaitj mata* design for fire is painted on the side of its body.[97] F is a fresh-water fish, *paipinga*, which the mythical man *Laitjun* used to catch in his fish trap at the mouth of the Koolatong River.[98] G is the dugong, *balwakmeri*. This creature is one of the main foods of the inhabitants of the *jiritja* heaven, Nalkuma.[99] H is the *dua* kangaroo, *karitjambal*.

6. CREATURES CARVED IN WOOD

The aborigines of Yirrkalla, and to a lesser extent those of Groote Eylandt, 532* carve simple wooden figures of various creatures. The fact that in the collection 171 of the South Australian Museum there are examples of similar wooden figures from Melville, Goulburn and Elcho Islands suggests that this craft is carried out over most, if not all, of Arnhem Land.

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[91] McConnel (1953), Pl. XVII, Fig. F.

[92] Elkin and the Berndts (1950), Pl. 10A, p. 100.

[93] McCarthy (1938), Fig. 40.

[94] Painted coffin, Pl. 102C, D.

[95] Carved message stick, Fig. 65A, B.

[96] Bark painting, Pl. 110B.

[97] Bark painting, Pl. 110B.

[98] Engraved pipe, Fig. 60D.

[99] Bark painting, Pl. 110A.

GROUP I

The Sacred Figures and Their Background.

532 The figures under discussion here belong to both moieties. The *'Wauwəlak*
616 Sisters[9] are *'du:a*—the more conservative of the two moieties, while *'Laintʃuŋ* and
778 *'Banaitʃa* are *'jiritʃa*—the moiety that concerns itself to a great extent with introduced beliefs and customs.

The *'Wauwəlak* are two " Dreaming "[10] Sisters, associated with the *'dʒuŋgəwən,*
776 *'kunapipi* and *'ŋu:rlmɑ:k* ceremonies, which are age-grading and seasonal festivals
773 of the *'du:a 'ŋa:ra* (i.e. " shade " or shelter).[11] Their mythology and their song cycle are preoccupied with after-birth blood, with menstruation, and with giant rock pythons, by one of whom they are swallowed. Although they themselves are looked on as Fertility Mothers,[12] they were originally brought into being by the *'Dʒaŋgəwəl,* the most important of all the Ancestral Beings, who were responsible for the peopling of this coast with the predecessors of the present-day aborigines, and for creating all natural resources. The *'Dʒaŋgəwəl* Sisters, *'Maralaitʃ* and *'Pildʒiwurərɔiju,* and *'Dʒaŋgəwəl* himself, travelled from the mythical land of *Bɔ'ralku,* bringing with them the sacred *'raŋga* objects used in the sacred rituals, in addition to the ceremonies mentioned above. Unfortunately, although carved figures of the *'Dʒaŋgəwəl* are occasionally made, none were used during our period of field work, although all their rituals were observed.

773 Briefly then, the two *'Wauwəlak* Sisters (one younger than the other) came from *'Mu:ruwəl* waterhole, in the " Bush " on the mainland below Milingimbi. The elder sister was pregnant, and eventually gave birth to a child; the after-birth blood was still running as she walked along near this place, accompanied by her sister and carrying the baby. They arrived at a deep well, near which they camped.

A large rock python, living in this well, smelt the blood; he came out and sprayed out water like rain. The elder sister told the other to make a bark hut, and by the time this was erected, it was dark. The snake then made vivid flashes of lightning, but the Sisters were unaware that this was his doing. Then the snake came out of the waterhole and on to the bank, and slowly moved towards the sisters. When the women saw him coming, the younger sister got up, and began to dance to keep him away. When she was tired, she called to her sister, who then began to dance in her turn. But as the snake still came on, the elder sister called out, " Come on, sister. It's no good for me—my blood is coming out, and he can smell it and he's coming closer." So the younger sister danced. When she was tired the elder sister

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[114] [9] L. Warner (*op. cit.* p. 248 *et seq.*) has given a description of the mythology and ritual of the " Wawilak " Sisters. The version given in this paper differs slightly from this.

[10] Cf. the concept of the " Eternal Dreamtime." Their reality is in the past, but their spirit is eternal.

[778] [11] Each moiety has a sacred shelter during its ceremonies, adjacent to the dancing ground.

[12] The concept of the Fertility Mother is common in Northern Territory of Australia: *vide* R. and C. Berndt, *Sexual Behaviour in Western Arnhem Land,* MS. book for publication.

danced again, and the snake came closer. In fear the two sisters retired to their hut, 773
and the monstrous snake coiled around it and put his head through the opening.
He sprayed water over them, so that they became slippery and soft for swallowing ;
then he proceeded to swallow the baby, the mother and finally the younger sister.

This is of course only the main theme ; the original version and song cycle is very long and detailed, and instead of the blood from after-birth, it is menstruation blood that attracts the snake.

The *'Wauwɔlak* myth and sacred songs are known to both men and women, but 773
the ritual and part of the ceremony is for men only, and is held away from the camp.[13]
However, certain associated ceremonies (e.g. the *'dʒuŋgɔwɔn*) are performed in the 533
main camp, where conventionalized posts are placed to symbolize the *'Wauwɔlak* 562
Sisters, around which women dance. In the north-eastern corner of Arnhem Land,
as in other parts along the coast, women are acquainted with much of the sacred life,
but may not discuss it. It is said that they originally monopolized all sacred ritual
and dogma, and relinquished this right only when their ceremonial objects were
stolen by the men. There is also an " outside " or secular song-cycle dealing with
the ordinary adventures of these two sisters, which is sung in the camp and to which
women dance.

But the carved figures illustrated here are used as *'raŋga* objects, in the same 196
way as the sacred *'maraiin* painted and feathered-string-decorated poles of *'Dʒaŋgɔwɔl*. 778
These are kept in a temporary storehouse out near the dancing ground, and shown to
fully initiated men.[14] The original artist who has made the figure enters the hut ; 533
outside, the postulants are sitting or standing with faces turned away. The song-man
begins to clap his sticks and the others are led up to look upon the sacred object.
Finally, when the singing is completed, the designs on the figure are explained and
discussed. At times, during the showing of the object, the figure may be held ritually
by an actor who writhes on the ground like the python who swallowed the sisters.

What the *'Dʒaŋgɔwɔl* is to the *'du:a*, *'Laintʃuŋ*[15] is to the *'jiritʃa* : he is the most 776
important of all the *'jiritʃa* Ancestral Beings, and is highly sacred. He came out of 616
the sea, emerging from the waters like a giant stone from the receding tide, at
'Du:wɔn'miliŋwu, near Blue Mud Bay. His body bore variegated water-marks 773
(*'ra:ŋ*) that formed patterns. In the figure illustrated, the totemic designs (belonging 532
to a number of *'jiritʃa* clans) painted on its body are water-mark patterns.

Now *'Barɔma*,[16] a *'jiritʃa* man, saw *'Laintʃuŋ* for the first time as he stood on the 773
beach, leaning on a sacred *'raŋga* yam stick, and was surprised to observe these
watermarks.

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[13] This with many details is an enactment of the above myth ; i.e. in the *'dʒuŋgɔwɔn* and *'kunapipi*.

[14] Those who have gone through the *'Dʒaŋgɔwɔl* rituals.

[15] The name *'Laintʃuŋ* means " white cloud from the sea," signified by the white face in the figure illustrated.

[16] Called also *'Bilmɔlandʒi*, derived from sacred beating sticks (called *'bilma*).

Full length, 33·5 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 6·25 inches; 532 778
diameter of head, 5·25 inches; width at shoulders, 4·5 inches.

Plate I, Figure 6. The final figure of this group is a representation of a *'Banaitʃa* 532
female. Very little of these women is mentioned in the sacred mythology, but songs 778
do refer to sisters of *'Banaitʃa*. This figure is in the likeness of *'Laintʃuŋ's* daughter
at a place called *'Gu:lɔldʒi* in the *'Dalwɔŋu* country. Her special name is *'Barama*, 173
while her sacred name is *'Bilwana*. She is also called *'Mundamunda*, from her body markings, representing bubbles rising to the surface of fresh water, and *'Mundalwaltun*, which refers to barramundi scales arising from the water.[23] This woman, unlike her father *'Laintʃuŋ*, always hides in the water and never emerges.

The figure is rather carelessly carved, and the designs are coloured yellow and 532
white on a red-ochred background, in the conventional manner. Both back and 778
front of this figure are patterned in the sacred *'Dalwɔŋu* clan design, representing bubbles arising from the water, and water-weed spreading across the surface of the water. The pupils of the eyes are painted black; while a yellow band across the forehead, with vertical white and red lines, is a headband, and other lines represent facial markings in yellow and white.

Artist: *'Li:ɔgɔ'raŋ*, as above.

Full length, 29·5 inches; length from top of head to shoulders, 7·25 inches; diameter of head, 5 inches; width across shoulders, 5·5 inches.

GROUP 2

The Figures and Their Background.

Male and female *'Kultana*, each known by a variety of names,[24] are associated 776
with the *'jiritʃa* conception of the Land of Spirits, to which human beings of this 616
moiety must go after death. The spirits of deceased *'du:a* moiety men and women,
irrespective of clan, travel to the fabulous country of *Bɔ'ralku*, the original home of 775
the Great Ancestral Beings, known as the *'Dʒaŋgɔwɔl*, who themselves brought into being the predecessors of the present aborigines.[25] Consistent with their less conservative ideas, the *'jiritʃa* home of the dead is located at *'Ba:du* (or Badu; i.e. Badu Island in the Torres Strait Islands group). It is there, in a land of running spring water, coconut palms, bread fruit, rice and light-skinned people who cut timber and live in stilted houses, that the spirit is said to find eventual repose.

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[23] For *'Banaitʃa* is associated with the barramundi fish.

[24] The man is called also *'Ranjiranji*, *'Ŋi:wunba*, *'Ma:ldʒidʒi*, *'Wu:rimila*, *'Li:abalgulk*, *'Gɔ:ŋəraldʒuŋ*, *'Dʒu:pinŋa:ma*, *'Kauwu:ŋɔ*, *'Dʒalba:ru*, *'Kundʒərəl*, etc., as well as a number of subsidiary names referring to particular incidents in his existence, e.g. *'Du:ga:dʒi:nʃalwu:l* (looking around for stingray in the mangroves), *'Jiribuma* (scratching himself after being bitten by mosquitoes), *'Dʒi:mɔ:luŋɔ:rərə* (coming out into the shallow water of a mangrove swamp, looking for stingray), etc., etc. His wife is also known as *'Wuleiwuli*, *'Daubərams*, *'Munandilŋa*, *'Kɔ:ŋwɔ:raiŋun*, *'Lauərilauəri*, *'Mu:rhandʒa*, *'Kɔ:ŋlilji'naŋɔ*, *'Kuruŋgur*, *'Malwuŋgitʃ*, *'Meiwada*, *'Dilmi:a*, *'Mara:waldʒiŋani* and *'Murandilŋɔ*, etc.

[25] *'Dʒaŋgɔwɔl* is associated with the concept of the Fertility Mother, which will be discussed in detail later.

The Aborigines of East Arnhem Land

A BOOMERANG

A nation's soul at stake!
Now seared and hurt with ill;
Bereft of stick and stake,
By callous alien's will.

A nation's soul at stake!
And that the white man's soul!
He must atonement make
Ere he redeem it whole.

—*J.E.P.*

Present Condition and Possible Future

144 The natives of East Arnhem Land belong to the Aboriginal race which, prior to white settlement, occupied the whole of this Australian continent. Though these north coastal districts were, during a long past, frequently visited by maritime traders from the Malay Archipelago, there is no evidence of any racial admixture sufficient to produce a variation of physical or mental characteristics, but some few cultural traces of these visitations are to be observed.

582 ● 616 617 The social organisation of these people conforms in general principle to that which is familiar to all students of this Australian race. There are, first of all, two individually exogamous, but intermarrying moieties, in this case known as Yirritcha and Dua respectively. Each of these moieties is divided into four sub-sections, making eight sub-sections in all. Marriage can only be between a man and a woman of opposite moieties, and is further regulated by the fact that a man of a particular sub-section of one moiety may marry only a woman of a particular sub-section of the opposite moiety. (See page 8.)

[611] The moieties are determined by patrilineal descent, but the sub-sections by matrilineal descent. That is, the children of a Yirritcha man will also belong to the Yirritcha moiety, but their sub-section is determined by that of the mother, irrespective of that of the father. Therefore, a Yirritcha man of the Bungardi sub-section normally marries a Dua woman of the Kumandjan sub-section. Their children belong to the father's moiety, and so are Yirritcha, but belong to the Bulain sub-section. A

Kumandjan woman's children will always belong to the Bulain sub-section, and this order obtains right through the intermarriage of the eight sub-sections of the tribe. 582 611 616● 617

All the members of each sub-section, both male and female, possess a definite relationship to some particular bird or animal, which constitutes their class totem or "jungoin." This form of totemism is but poorly developed, and any mature person, after passing through a brief ceremony, may freely kill and eat his or her totem animal. (See page 16.) 616 617

In this area the distinctive feature of the tribal organisation is the emphasis placed on the local hordes or clans, which are of great number, and in some cases contain but few individuals. Each horde consists of men of one moiety only, with their wives of the opposite moiety, and each horde possesses a definitely defined territory, which in every case includes a ceremonial totemic centre. This ceremonial totemism is, in contrast to the class totemism, very highly developed, and is of the utmost significance and importance. 614 621 778

These ceremonial totems, which are very numerous, in the vast majority of cases consist of— 532 778

(a) Representations of utensils and implements believed to have been originated, used and conferred upon the people by certain mythological ancestors.

(b) Representations of natural species associated in legend with these ancestors.

(c) Representations of these mythological ancestors themselves.

All of these are highly conventionalised in design.

These "Muraian," as they are called, lie at the basis of most of the ceremonial life of the people. They are most jealously guarded, and are believed to exercise a profound influence on the fortunes of the clan. The revelation of and the explanation of these "Muraian" constitute one of the most important stages in the education of the young men. 614 778

During the "Nara" ceremonies, which are associated with these "Muraian," the initiates have impressed upon them the ancient tribal regulations and sanctions. They are warned against being insolent to their elders, against dishonesty, against lying, against improper relations with women, and so are enforced many excellent ethical lessons. During their period of instruction they are placed under a food tabu, and are informed that any breach of the regulations taught will result in illness or deformity. 796 867 [784]

778 The aid of these "Muraian," in which are believed to reside the spirits of their tribal ancestors, may be invoked, and I have heard an old man, addressing a group of initiates, declare that he had lived to an old age because he had been true to his "Muraian," which, he said, had protected him from his enemies and generally cared for him. One man told me that when away out at sea in his canoe, and being suddenly overtaken by a violent storm, he had called upon his "Muraian," and by their aid had been brought safely to land.

614 621 688 796 [778] During the preparations for, or the holding of, these ceremonies^ it is expected that all matters likely to disturb the peace will be carefully avoided. If someone commits an offence during that period it is regarded as an insult to the particular "Muraian" concerned, and the men of the horde become most violently angry. In such a case the offender must make liberal payments to the chief men of the horde, who, in extreme cases, however, are not satisfied until the offender has been seriously injured, or even killed.

561 778 [587] Though at an early age youths are given some information concerning their own "Muraian," no man undertakes the manufacture of these sacred objects before middle life, and then only under the direction of the old men. From time to time, as opportunity presents itself, a man is shown the "Muraian" of hordes other than his own. Such knowledge is in no way compulsory or essential to his taking his full place in the tribal life, but rather marks an additional stage in his education, and so increases his influence.

614 616 619 778 It is through these "Muraian" that the only cohesion between the various scattered hordes is obtained. Hordes or clans of the same moiety, though as widely separated as Elcho Island and Blue Mud Bay, hold in reverence the same mythological ancestors, possess the same "Muraian," and so regard themselves as the same people.

000 It will be seen, from the above, how wide is the influence of these totemic beliefs, and how important a place they occupy in the life of the people. Further brief reference will be made to them under the heading of Death and Burial Beliefs and Customs.

^ [i.e. "NARA" CEREMONIES --- ANALYST]

617 The eight sub-sections, with their totems, are as follows:—

Sub-sections		Totems
Male	Female	
(Yiritcha)		
Ngarit	Ngaritjan	Slender-limbed kangaroo
Bulain	Bulaindjan	Stout-limbed kangaroo
Kaijark	Koitjan	Fork-tailed kite
		Large black lizard
		Wagtail
Bangardi	Bangaritjan	Emu
(Dua)		
Buralang	Kalian	Agile wallaby
		Smaller wallaby
Balang	Bilindjan	White-breasted sea-eagle
Kamarung	Kumandjan	Wedge-tailed eagle
Warmut	Warmutjan	Black-breasted buzzard
		Black-nosed kangaroo

[611 616] The moieties are determined by patrilineal descent, but the sub-sections by matrilineal descent.

131 from the Church Missionary Society settlement at Groote Eylandt,
797 and 90 miles from the nearest Methodist Mission at Elcho Island.
Apart from the Mission stations of Roper River, Oenpelli, Goulburn Island, Milingimbi, Elcho Island, Yirrkalla and Groote Eylandt, which fringe the great Reserve, there is no other European settlement, except the new base subsidized by the Northern Territory Native Affairs Branch at Ambu Kambu on Groote Eylandt.

The whole region is rich in indigenous foods and resources, par-
136 ticularly along the coast. The sea abounds in dugong, turtle, fish,
262 crayfish, shellfish, oysters, and crabs: inland, on the plains and in the jungles, there are wildfowl, emu, wallaby, kangaroo, and smaller animals, fruit, nuts, vegetables, berries, and a large variety of other bush foods, with quantities of fresh-water fish and crocodiles in the streams and rivers; and at times buffalo which have wandered eastwards from the Buffalo Plains west of Oenpelli. So plentiful is the food that, even in bad seasons, the quality may diminish, but rarely the quantity.

b Social Organization:

Before proceeding to our main study, it is necessary to outline
114 briefly the structure of north-eastern Arnhem Land society. The work
184 of Professor Lloyd Warner is the most reliable in this respect, while the Rev. T. T. Webb and Dr. Donald Thomson have written on the
121 subject.[1] The reader will find sufficient detail in these for our present
177 purpose. But it should be borne in mind that the organization of Yirrkalla society, although basically similar to that of Milingimbi, is in many respects decidedly different. Dr. Warner viewed aboriginal social life through the eyes of Milingimbi informants, influenced by cultural trends from Cape Stewart and the inland, while the present writer views the same position from the Yirrkalla point of view, uninfluenced to any marked degree from the west, but responding to contact from aboriginal groups to the south and south-west (this is particularly apparent in our study of the Kunapipi cult).

These people of eastern Arnhem Land, from Cape Stewart to
101 Blue Mud Bay, had a general term for themselves—the Wulamba group of clans, forming a tribe with a more or less common cultural background: natives outside this region, such as those at Groote Eylandt, called them the "Balamumu" confederacy. Balamumu may
614 be broadly translated as "those of the sea", that is, coastal people.
197 The varying dialects (termed *mata*, "tongue") of these clans (*mala*)

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616 [1] L. Warner, *A Black Civilization*, New York and London, 1937; T. T. Webb, Tribal Organization in Eastern Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 406-411; A. P. Elkin, Marriage and Descent in East Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. III, No. 4, pp. 412-416; D. Thomson, *Interim General Report of Preliminary Expedition to Arnhem Land, Northern Territory of Australia*, 1935-36, Department of Interior, Canberra, 1936, pp. 31-34.

are collectively known as Mi:woitj *mata*. Throughout the whole area 614 the territory is divided between a number of clans, some of which 618 have become extinct, while others have had their population seriously 197 diminished. These clans have allocated to them certain *mata* (or linguistic groups), which may be interchangeable between clans belonging to the same patrilineal moiety. There is a pronounced emphasis on the importance of the *mata*, each of which exists as an almost independent unit. Again, many of these *mata*, like the *mala*, have become extinct or been absorbed by more powerful groups. They are of patrilineal descent, but there is a strong tendency for a person to feel some attachment to the *mata* and *mala* of his mother and mother's brother. These *mata* and *mala* belong exclusively either to the *dua* or to the *jiritja* moiety, and there is no variation in the use of these terms throughout the whole area.

The moiety is the most important control in the social organization 616 of the Wulamba bloc: it divides all *mata* and *mala*, the whole life of the people and the known universe, into two groups, and affiliates all those belonging to one moiety. The moieties are exogamous, so that they remain the basis upon which marriage rules depend. All the *dua* people, for example, are *dua'kundit* (i.e. of one family) and the *jiritja* people, *jiritja'kundit*. This division of the people into moieties is said to have begun in the Eternal Dreaming [773] Period, when the Djanggawul Beings removed from their uteri the first male and female predecessors of the present-day groups. Although Djanggawul themselves were *dua*, they were able to define the two moieties in their progeny. But Laintjung, being the chief *jiritja* Ancestral Being and a contemporary of the Djanggawul, assumed also the responsibility for establishing the *jiritja* moiety. The esoteric significance of the terms *jiritja* and *dua* is to-day unknown, although old and reliable aborigines state that both these moiety terms convey the meaning of metamorphosis: that is, they refer to a state of transition from the period in which the great Ancestral and Spirit Beings lived (i.e. the Totemic era), to the development of man as he is in this age.

These people also have a term, *jutu'indi*, which refers to all *dua* and *jiritja* people together, and not merely to a tribe consisting of both moieties, as the Wulamba. *Jutu'indi* is the concept of moiety unity, and may be loosely translated as "beginning"; for the people themselves say, "it is *jutu'indi* because, if I'm *dua*, *jiritja* is my mother, *dua* my daughter and son, and we are all one. . . ." But *jutu'indi* refers principally to members of inter-marrying *mata*, and not always [614] to *mata* in outlying areas: that is, it is apt to have a restricted connotation.

Another interesting aspect of these moieties is that the *dua* seems to be associated with the ancient and purely indigenous belief, ritual and ceremony of the people, while the *jiritja* is concerned more

616 with introduced or external themes. The Djanggawul and Wauwalak
[776] Spirit Beings, the guardians of the most sacred and esoteric ritual,
are *dua*, while Laintjung, Baijini, Macassan and Badu mythology,
[773] ritual, songs and belief are *jiritja*.[2]

As we have said, the *mala* and *mata* belong either to one moiety
614 or to the other; but detailed topographical maps of the region
197 reveal that clan territories are very elastic, so that isolated sites
relating to one moiety may exist in the clan country of the opposite
616 moiety, and so on. Further, the traditional home territory of one
[423] group may be situated elsewhere than it is to-day. This is often discovered
only by analysis of clan mythology and its relationship to that of other clans, and the inclusion of linguistic groups in clans which originally were not associated with these particular *mata*. The whole study of clan and linguistic group organization is extremely complicated. We shall, however, mention several of the best known of these, in order to demonstrate their complexity: it is not necessary, for the purpose of this work, to deal with them in any detail.

Dalwongu is a *jiritja mata*, that means "Spring water flowing after
614 rain and the swamp bird, *wanba*, calling out when he sees it". It
616 belongs not only to the Nungulrulpoi (meaning "a shoal of *gunbirawi*
young mullet") whose alternate name is Numbiripala (meaning
192 "those who subincise", that is, they are influenced from Rose River:
vide the body of this work), or Malar'watjeri (i.e. "the clan of the subincision"), but to others. These particular Dalwongu are distinguished from the others by the "heavy" quality of their language. Allied to this Dalwongu *mata*, within this particular *mala*, are the Kalaulwun (meaning "the *wanba* bird in the bamboo tree") and Mararba (that is, "the *wanba* bird") *mata*, who belong also to other *mala* and not only to the Nungulrulpoi. The alternate term for the *mala*, Malar'watjeri, is used also as a separate *mala*, and its *mata* are Dalwongu, Bilmalandji ("paperbark near the salt water") and Di:agoi (meaning "paperbark"): this Dalwongu group is allied to the first, and to the other *mata* which are rightfully Malar'watjeri.

Another Dalwongu group belongs to the Ngelkala *mala* (meaning

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[113] [2] *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Sacred Figures of Ancestral Beings of Arnhem Land, *Oceania*, Vol. XVIII, No. 4, pp. 309–326, 2 plates and text figures; Secular Figures of North-Eastern Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, Vol. 51, No. 2; R. Berndt, A Wonguri-Mandjikai Song Cycle of the Moon Bone, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 1, pp. 16–50; Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93–103, plate; C. Berndt, Expressions of Grief Among Aboriginal Women, *Oceania*, Vol. XX, No. 4, pp. 286–332; R. and C. Berndt, Discovery of Pottery in North-Eastern Arnhem Land, *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2; A. P. Elkin, R. and C. Berndt, *Art in Arnhem Land*, F. W. Cheshire, Melbourne, and University of Chicago Press, 1950; R. Berndt, *Djanggawul*, for publication (a detailed study of the Djanggawul religious cult of north-eastern Arnhem Land); R. Berndt, *Daughters of the Sun* (a further study of the Djanggawul cult from the north-central Arnhem Land point of view), for publication; R. and C. Berndt, *Arnhem Land, Its History and Its People* (F. W. Cheshire, for publication); R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land* (sexual behaviour in north-eastern Arnhem Land), volume for publication.

"a mangrove barramundi"), whose home is around Blue Mud Bay. 614
Ngelkala is a "new" name, while the old term is Numburula, meaning
"a barramundi springing up after small fish". Still another 616
Dalwongu ("light" language) belongs to the Manaitja ("the wild 192
honey bee"); another belongs to the Biringal *mala* (that is, "grass shooting out from a pool of water"), but is now allied to the Ri:tarngu (meaning the same as Biringal) *mata*; and another to the Mandji:kai ("sandfly") *mala*, being thus allied to a number of other *mata*.

Ri:radjingu is a *dua mata* (meaning "a long horizontal white cloud"), whose *mala* is Wururul ("from the blowfly"): it is allied to the Ba'rangu ("a white cloud") whose *mala* is Miliwuru (also a "white cloud"). The Ri:radjingu join, but are not directly associated with, the Kalpu *mata* ("the small *miliga* moon-fish") and Marakulu *mata* ("the *dandei* bark from the *durilji* gum tree"). The Kalpu are really Kaulwu:rl *mala* ("a bushy-topped spear-wood tree"), allied to the Djarlwak *mata* (associated with the spear-wood tree): alternate names for this *mala* are Mamari:n ("the spear-wood tree") and Djamunda ("little moon fish about the reef"). Marakulu *mata* is usually allied to Wurungguku ("the cry of the *wiriel* pigeon"), Marangu ("*durilji* gum bark"), Kopateiindamiri ("spear stick from the *durilji* tree") and Lultma'rangu *mata* (that is, "look down to the Marangu"), who belong to the Durilji *mala* ("sapling of a gum-tree"). Another Durilji group has the Dapingu *mata* ("pigeon"). Moreover, Marakulu, Marangu, Lultma'rangu and Kopateiindamiri *mata* can be Da:poingu (not Dapingu) *mala*, and Ri:radjingu, Kalpu, Ngeimil ("lily root") and Gwo:la mala ("salt-water catfish") *mata* can also join in.

This gives some idea of a few of the *jiritja* and *dua mala* and *mata*, 614
together with the meanings of the terms which are directly and
indirectly associated with the clan mythology, totemism and ritual 616
life. "Inside" or sacred names are used also to refer to the clans; [778
these, too, are associated with the ritual life, and are used only on the
ceremonial ground in a special form of what are known as *bukalilji* (*jiritja*) or *bukali* (*dua*)—sacred invocations to the main Spirit Beings.

Each clan (or each linguistic group), or series of clans (or of *mata*), shares in a common mythology, and undertakes particular ceremonies associated with this. Each clan, too, has access to a number of waterholes, some of which are sacred; and each is guardian of sacred *marelin* (an "outside" or camp term) or *rangga* ("inside" or sacred term) ceremonial objects, and of *nara* ceremonies. Frequently the members of both moieties unite to perform the *nara* of one clan (or *mata*), but the real ownership is rarely disputed.

Certain *mata* are more closely allied by ties of marriage than are others, and each *mata* has definite *mata* of the opposite moiety with which it prefers to arrange marriages.

This is the fundamental basis of Yirrkalla, and north-eastern

614 Arnhem Land, social organization: the division of society into two
616 groups (that is, moieties) was, with the kinship structure, the traditional
norm. But within recent years the sub-section system has
[177] been introduced from the south and south-west, coming up the coast
through Rose River and Blue Mud Bay. In the Milingimbi region it
seems to have been introduced at an earlier date, through contact
with the inland tribes, particularly the Reinbaranga. At Yirrkalla,
however, the sub-sections are not yet completely co-ordinated with
the kinship terminology, and among the older people are not in
constant use. Certain sub-section terms are however mentioned
from time to time in this work, in reference to Ancestral Beings; they
will not be discussed in this context, and reference should be made to
the work of L. Warner, T. T. Webb, A. P. Elkin and R. Berndt.[3]

c The Religious Quality of Yirrkalla Social Life:

222 Yirrkalla society, like most other Australian Aboriginal communities,
796 whether of desert, hill or coast, must forage for its food, the
789 abundance of which depends on the particular environment. On the
771 north coast and rivers of Arnhem Land, food of many varieties is
available in great quantities. In spite of this, however, its constant
supply is said to depend on the rhythm of the seasons, upon the
mythical characters of the Eternal Dreaming Period, and on the
performance of associated ritual and ceremony. In order to ensure a
constant supply of food, in the form of natural species generally,
these aborigines rely on the great ceremonial cycles of *djunggawon*,
kunapipi, *ngu:rlmak*, and the *dua* and *jiritja nara* cycles which are
usual in this region. These rituals, associated with the principal
Ancestral Beings such as Djanggawul, Wauwalak, Laintjung,
Banaitja and Baijini, are the basis of indigenous religion. But they
are not concerned merely with the provision of food. Their purpose
[842] is, primarily, to ensure the continuation of the human species; the
increase of all other animals, birds, fish, vegetable matter, and so on,
is only an adjunct to the main theme.

This religion then is a dominant quality in Yirrkalla life, and is
771 reflected in all its institutions and conventional forms of behaviour.
794 It concerns itself with the fructification of all living things, and in
that category human beings themselves are considered the most
789 important. As, however, the Kunapipi cult is especially concerned
with their rhythmic sequence of birth and rebirth, it is crystallized
in a definite concept of a Fertility Mother. Moreover, the cult is
concerned with the coming and going of the seasons, the appearance
and disappearance of vegetable and plant matter, and the propaga-

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[3] *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* 1937, pp. 116–124, and his Morphology and Functions of the Australian Murngin Type of Kinship, *American Anthropologist*, n.s. 33, 2, 184; T. T. Webb, *op. cit.* pp. 406–408; A. P. Elkin, *op. cit.* pp. 412–416; R. Berndt, *Love Songs of Arnhem Land*, Chap. 1.

773 so it relates, the Djanggawul sisters themselves were the sole guardians
of the religious objects and associated ceremonies. They were
796 well acquainted with all the sacred ritual and doctrine, because this
intimately concerned them; the symbols they used, and their actions
in dancing, made reference to the sexual act, to pregnancy and birth.
Aboriginal men to-day speak definitely on this point: "Then we
had nothing: no sacred objects, no sacred ceremonies, the women
had everything." So one day, the myth continues, the men stole the
women's objects while they were out collecting mussels; they took
them back to their own camp, and there performed the special sacred
dancing. The Djanggawul sisters, coming back with their shellfish,
found that their *rangga* had disappeared. They heard, in the distance,
the singing of the men; and finally they decided that perhaps it was
just as well that the men had taken their *rangga*. It would save them
a lot of trouble, they agreed; now the men could carry out most of
the ritual for them, while they busied themselves chiefly with
raising families and collecting food. In this way, their true function
as Fertility Mothers became established. Such an attitude is not confined
[171] to north-eastern Arnhem Land, but appears in the mythology
of other Australian Aboriginal tribes. However, women still play
[562] an important part in sacred ritual, for instance in the Kunapipi.

This is a brief summary of the complete version, which gives in
616 detail the main theology of the *dua* moiety. To both *dua* and *jiritja*
796 men and women it is of major importance, for men of both moieties
take part in the *dua nara* ceremonies, although *dua* men alone are the
leaders, singers and principal dancers. The Djanggawul ritual is
concerned with "higher" religious thought, and most of it with
sacred dancing on a sacred ground where a *nara* "shade" or hut has
been constructed. This hut represents the womb; in it the *rangga*
are stored, and from it men emerge, to posture and dance ritually
while holding them.

616 If the Djanggawul are important to the *dua*, Laintjung and his son
Banaitja are equally so to the *jiritja* group of clans who hold the
773 *jiritja nara* ceremonies. The Male Ancestral Beings Laintjung and
Banaitja, with certain female counterparts, dominate *jiritja* religious
ideology; but their mythology is not nearly so vivid as that of the
Djanggawul, nor are their ceremonies so important. Laintjung came
from the sea near Blue Mud Bay, and established his cult. There, and
at nearby places, he distributed sacred totemic designs to *jiritja*
clans; he had also brought with him sacred *rangga*, the *jiritja* "high"
totems, which he gave into the custody of the clans. Although much
[189] of the Laintjung ritual also relates to the increase of the natural
species, most is only indirectly related to fertility.

When his father died, Banaitja desired to broaden and put into
practice some of Laintjung's religious concepts; but his efforts
aroused general antagonism, and at last he was put to death. Later,

however, the people to whom Laintjung had given his sacred designs 616
and *rangga* were sorry for what they had done, and made the "like- 773
ness" of Banaitja in paperbark bound on a framework of cane. The
influence of Laintjung and Banaitja, in spite of their importance, did [171]
not cover such a wide area as that of some other Ancestral Beings;
and the aborigines account for this by explaining that Banaitja
"was killed at an early age, before he had the opportunity of trav-
elling widely throughout this region".

Most of the great religious myths of this region are associated
with the *dua* moiety, the more conservative section; it is the *jiritja* [177]
which embraces new and "alien" ideas and activities. From time to 773
time, fully-initiated *dua* and *jiritja* men are shown the "high" 616
rangga, and through the years they become increasingly familiar
with the complex ritual. This admission to sacred knowledge, how- 561
ever, is not thought comparable to an initiation or age-grading 796
ceremony: it is more in the nature of a revelation through which
they become acquainted with the inner substance of religious thought
and expression. The *dua* Wauwalak myth, on the other hand, is of
general importance, and is associated with the three sacred "age-
grading" ceremonies of this north-eastern region. There is also much
sacred ritual not concerned with age-grading. Both *dua* and *jiritja*
men take part in this, and it incorporates some purely *jiritja* songs [533]
belonging to separate cycles.

The two Wauwalak sisters are associated with the concept of 773
fertility, owing mainly to their connection with birth, after-birth 796
blood, and menstruation. The latter receives a great deal of atten-
tion in Yirrkalla thought. Aboriginal women are all potential [841]
Wauwalaks; and a great deal of their behaviour, particularly at
puberty, and when menstruation ceases at pregnancy, is said to be
based on that of the Two Sisters. The Wauwalak myth is most
important to these north-eastern Arnhem Landers, and they make
frequent references to it. It has, as mentioned, far more general
application than have the Djanggawul and Laintjung cycles; and the
three separate ceremonies which concern it here are each of a differ-
ent nature. The commonest is the *djunggawon*, used primarily for
initiation; ideally, it extends over a couple of months, and includes, [881]
in addition to circumcision and camp dancing, a certain amount of
ritual which is not fully revealed, as in the case of the Djanggawul.
The second of these three ceremonies is the *kunapipi*, which will be
dealt with in the following chapters. The third is the *ngu:rlmak*
ceremony, performed to-day only at rare intervals. It is considered
to be far more important than either the *djunggawon* or the *kunapipi*,
but less so than the Djanggawul and Laintjung *dua* and *jiritja nara*
rituals.

There are also a number of subsidiary ceremonies, related in some
degree to these two main cycles, but not by any means so outstanding.

tion of the people further east, around Yirrkalla, Cape Arnhem and 171
Caledon Bay.

It was not until perhaps fifteen years ago that the cult gradually 794
spread northwards from Rose River, where its custodians were the 177
Nungguboiju group who had obtained it from the Roper River
people, particularly from the Mangarei-Ma:ra-Alawa tribes. The
Lultma'rangu (*dua* moiety), Dalwongu and Murarbu (*jiritja* moiety)
linguistic groups were the first to come within its influence; they
mixed with people from Rose River to perform Kunapipi ceremonies
around Caledon and Blue Mud Bays, and occasional Kunapipi
rituals were held round about Yirrkalla.

But although these people did perform the Kunapipi at relevant 171
seasons, this did not take the place of indigenous religious belief and 177
practice. The great ceremonies of the *dua* and *jiritja* moiety *nara* were
still the most important; and the *djunggawon* and *ngu:rlmak* rituals, 616
associated with the two Wauwalak Sisters and the Rock Pythons, 794
retained their importance in the minds of the north-eastern people. 796
Kunapipi in this area was subsidiary, whereas in most of the other
areas mentioned above her rituals held a paramount position.

The introduced Kunapipi cult brought with it all its attendant 177
ritual and ceremonial activity, but apparently its original mythology
(see Chapters IX and X) became merged with that of the Wauwalak.[6] 184
It was, in consequence, more readily accepted by the local people, 773
for the Wauwalak myth-cycle embraces much of the indigenous
religion. Thus, instead of becoming just another introduced ceremony, 794
the Kunapipi became a cult associated with a series of cults, having 796
roots in indigenous mythology. The Wauwalak mythology had much
in common with that of the southern Kunapipi. Both possessed the
same concept of fertility. The Wauwalak sisters became indirectly
the dual Mothers, continually replenishing the earth with human [776]
beings and with the natural species. Even the Rainbow Snake was
presnt, i e the form of the Rock Pythons, who finally swallowed the
Sisters. Fundamentally, too, the arrangement of the sacred dancing
ground, and much of the incidental ceremony (when the special
Kunapipi objects are not used) are similar to those of the *djunggawon*
and *ngu:rlmak* rituals.

One aspect of the Kunapipi is slightly at variance with local 773
indigenous belief. In north-eastern Arnhem Land the Fertility 776
Mothers are the sisters of Djanggawul, Pildjiwuraroiju and Miralaitj. 184
The Wauwalak, although associated with the idea of fertility, are not
concerned with human or animal creation: they are said to be the 794
daughters of the elder Djanggawul sister, removed from her uterus
by her Brother. According to conventional Kunapipi mythology,

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[6] The Wauwalak mythology itself was introduced much earlier into north-eastern Arnhem Land, its original source being found in the mythology of the Kunapipi: *vide* Chapters IX and X.

CHAPTER III

MYTHOLOGICAL BASIS OF THE KUNAPIPI

773 The myth that substantiates Kunapipi ritual in this north-eastern
region is thus concerned with the two Wauwalak sisters; and this
796 same myth (as mentioned in Chapter I *c*) serves to explain two other
794 indigenous rituals, the age-grading *djunggawon* ceremony, and the
"higher" religious ritual of *ngu:rlmak*. Each of these three cere-
[561] monies, the *djunggawon*, the *kunapipi* and the *ngu:rlmak*, emphasizes some particular feature of this myth. But at the same time, to understand thoroughly the Kunapipi ritual and symbolism it is necessary to be acquainted with the complete Wauwalak myth. Even then, certain aspects must be interpreted, according to Aboriginal explanations, before their meaning can become apparent. Traditional symbolism in ritual, through long years of constant repetition, becomes so stylized that the original intent is sometimes obscured; it is often necessary, therefore, to interpret on the basis not only of mythology, but also of comparison with similar actions and symbols in other regions. However, in this small study we are concerned not so much with theoretical analysis, as with recording the structure and basis of the cult in this particular area, assisted by a glance at its expression in two neighbouring groups.

In north-eastern Arnhem Land, where most of the indigenous
[616] religious doctrine is expressed through the Djanggawul *dua* and the
[184] Laintjung-Banaitja *jiritja* cycles, the Wauwalak series is not the most important. Again, to understand fully the importance of this concept of fertility it is necessary to realize the place of the Djanggawul Brother and Sisters in Yirrkalla sacred life, for they were responsible in the first place for the birth of the Wauwalak. The power of fructification, however, has been transmitted to the Two Wauwalak Sisters (*vide* Chapters I and II) with the introduction of the Kunapipi.

562 It is relevant to mention, in this context, that women play an
important part in all sacred ritual in north-eastern Arnhem Land,
794 where many of the rites are concerned with the reproductive function
796 of womankind, and of female Ancestral (or Spirit) Beings. Women
to-day are acquainted, although in many cases somewhat imper-
773 fectly, with the background of sacred ceremony and the underlying doctrines. Indeed, men stress the fact that in the Dreaming Period women initially possessed all sacred ritual, and lost it only through

171 and it was to this region, apparently within historic times, that the
773 Kunapipi found its way and finally became established. On the
776 eastern side of Arnhem Land we hear little of the local travels and
adventures of the Wauwalak: all the *djunggawon* and *ngu:rlmak* ritual of that area is inspired by the myth which centres around this country near Milingimbi. One version only, endeavouring apparently to weld the Wauwalak mythology more closely to the Rose River Kunapipi, relates that the Two Sisters came up from the Roper River through Nungguboiju territory to Rose River, and continued directly up the coast to Kararwu, at Arnhem Bay.

773 The Wauwalak sisters, one older and one younger, left their home territory, the land of the *dua* Wauwalak people. Before leaving, the elder sister had incestuous relations with a clansman, and as a result she became pregnant. She was called *gungman* (that is, a mature child-bearing woman), while the younger girl, or *wirlkul*, was *kalngawona* (that is, having no child). They travelled in the direction of Muruwul (or Mu:ruwol) sacred waterhole, naming all the animals, birds and plants. Both of them carried stone spears, and wore decorative head-bands of feathered string and cane armlets: the younger sister, the *wirlkul*, wore a breast girdle of woven fibre, which fitted under her shoulder blades and her swelling breasts. They walked along, killing iguana, opossum, bandicoot, bush rat and kangaroo for food, and collecting yams. As they gathered these, placing them in their large *bulpul* dilly-bag, they said, "You will be *mareiin* later on". That is, the animals, yams, and so on would become sacred: they would be *rangga* objects, and be commemorated in ceremony.

The women came at last to Gru:awona, and the younger sister said: "We'll have a rest here".

"All right, sister", replied the other. "I feel my baby moving inside, and it will soon come out."

They made a fire and rested there. A little later, this elder sister
[616] gave birth to a female child, who belonged to the *jiritja* moiety,
although because of the incestuous union its father had been *dua*. They remained at this place, but the afterbirth blood was still flowing when the elder sister was walking about.

When she was well enough to move, they continued their journey towards Muruwul, which was not far from the sea-coast. The afterbirth blood was still running when they reached the sacred tabued well (or waterhole), and a trail of blood drops had been left all along the track. At Muruwul they made fire, and took some food from their dilly-bag for cooking.

First they placed an opossum on the fire to roast; but as soon as the creature began to grow warm, it got up and ran away. Then they tried to cook a bandicoot, but this too rose from the fire and ran away. The iguana and the rat, and all the other animals, did the same.

"Come on, sister", cried the *gungman*. "It's no good for me; my blood is coming out, and the Snake is smelling it and coming closer. It's better for you to go on dancing." 773

So the younger sister continued, and again Julunggul stopped and watched; but as the snake looked, her eyes were still focused on the entrance to the hut, and from time to time she breathed out flashes of lightning. In this way, the Wauwalak took it in turns to dance; when the younger sister danced, the Snake stopped; but when the older one continued, she came forward again. So the younger girl danced longer than the other, and as she swayed from side to side the intensive activity caused her menstruation to begin; then the Python, smelling more blood, came forward without hesitation.

Frightened, the Wauwalak ran into their hut, and with the baby, sat waiting inside. Slowly Julunggul drew nearer, twisting her body all round the outside of the hut, and put her head into the aperture. Seeing the women and the child, she sprayed them with saliva (called *ngeiakngeiakma*) from her throat, to make them very slippery; this covered their bodies, so that their skin became soft and easy for swallowing. Then Julunggul opened her mouth and swallowed first the baby, then the mother. As the elder sister was being swallowed, even when only her head and breasts were protruding from the Snake's mouth, she called out *kei'wa ! kei'wa !* But the Snake took no notice; she turned to the *wirlkul* and swallowed her too.

Then Julunggul slowly returned to Muruwul well; she entered it, and stood erect, with head upright and high out of the water. Beside this female Julunggul was her husband, also Julunggul, who had stayed in the well. They both belong to the Li:alauwermiri linguistic group.

These Snakes are so high that they can see all over the country—right down towards the Crocodile Islands and Cape Stewart; away into the interior of Arnhem Land, out to Elcho Island, the English Company Islands and the Wessels, to Arnhem Bay and Cape Arnhem, and down towards Port Bradshaw, Trial Bay, Caledon and Blue Mud Bays, even as far as Rose River. Out on the Wessel Islands at Guluma, they could see two other Rock Pythons, *wirikri* and *kaiambul*, standing up erect.

"What is your language ?" these two asked the Snake who had swallowed the Wauwalak.

"We are Li:alauwermiri. What is yours ?"

"We are Ba'rangu."

Other *dua* Pythons also erected themselves, and the Li:alauwermiri Snakes asked them in turn what their languages were. There were Ri:radjingu, Kalpu, Marakulu, Djarlwak, Wurungguku, Marangu, Kopateiindamiri, Lultma'rangu, Dapingu, Ngeimil, Gwolamala, Djapu, Grutawatumiri, Djambarpingu, Dadawi and others. 773 616 797

773 All of these were linguistic groups distributed among certain clans.

616 "Ah, what a lot of languages we talk," said the Li:alauwermiri.
197 "But although our languages are slightly different, we all share the
same *mareiin* (*rangga* totemic emblems), and have the same ceremonies."

All the Pythons from the various *dua* groups called out ritually:
773 *'a: ! ko:kjei ! 'a: ! ko:kjei !* And the sound of their voices was like
thunder.

Then the Wessel Islands Python asked the Li:alauwermiri Julunggul, "What have you had to eat?"

"I couldn't say", replied Julunggul.

"But you must tell me what you have had," insisted the other. The Li:alauwermiri was *gu'rungkngu* (that is, unwilling to answer correctly), and kept refusing to tell the other Snake. But at last the first Snake said: "I had a rock wallaby and a parrot fish."

"All right, I'll tell you what I had", the female Julunggul replied. "I had two nice little girls and a baby; they are in my body."

The others would not believe. They repeated, "We had a rock wallaby and a parrot fish."

"That is nothing", the Julunggul boasted, "we had those Wauwalak."

Then the Julunggul made a tremendous noise, called *muljulngo* or *du:ldo:n*, now part of the sound of the bullroarer. The two terms are now archaic.

* * * *

773 It is necessary to pause at this juncture, and comment on some of the aspects dealt with in this part of the myth.

114 In the first place, there are many versions of the Wauwalak myth,
but the most reliable of these are contained in the elaborate song
831 cycles. The above version, which is outlined only briefly and has a number of appendices, differs in several minor points from that set out by Dr. Warner,[5] obtained in the vicinity of Milingimbi. For example, the Wauwalak Sisters in his version had already a child when they reached the outskirts of Muruwul (there termed Mirrirmina), and the younger sister gave birth to a baby on the way; both children were male. It was said that menstrual blood polluted the sacred well; while the Rock Python itself was male, called the Big Father. The flood theme, after the swallowing of the Wauwalak and the conversation of the various *dua* Snakes, makes its appearance in other versions which are not appended here.

The fact that the Rock Python, in the version we outline, is female (called by informants *jindi'ba:pi*, big/snake, and not *jindi'ba:pa*, big father: *ba:pi* and *ba:pa* may perhaps have been confused in Warner's version) is an important point, for it stresses the aspect of

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[5] L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 250–259. Since working at Yirrkalla in 1946–47, the writer has carried out additional research at Milingimbi (1950) into the Wauwalak mythology and songs. Certain local variations are found there, which it is proposed to discuss later in some detail.

773 to these aborigines, is not just passive reliance on the Ancestral 796 Beings, an inertia based on the hope that "something is bound to turn up" if they wait long enough. They must do their part to ensure the action of the Ancestral Beings; and their part is the ritual re-enactment of the relevant myth. This releases the "power" (or *dal*) inherent in the Ancestral Beings. This *dal* then finds full expression, and fertility is assured.

Thus the myth is thought to express the intentions of the Ancestral Beings, who possess the power to carry them out; and this power is [805] released (or brought to bear) by sacred ritual. It arranges the seasons, maintains an adequate supply of food, and ensures the continuance [789] of the group as a whole.

Before we proceed with the Kunapipi ritual, it is necessary to relate the final part of the Wauwalak myth, explaining the way in which this ritual was obtained and handed down from *wonga:r* times.

The three rituals, of which only one is to be treated here, are grouped together in terms of kinship ties. The *djunggawon*, an age-[561] grading ceremony, is called *katu*, son, and so is its principal ritual [534] object, the long *julunggul* wooden "trumpet". The *ngu:rlmak*, mainly religious in character and open only to adult postulants, is termed *ba:pa*, father, and so is its ceremonial hollow log *uwar* "drum". The *kunapipi* is *mari* (mother's mother's brother), like its [601] main ritual emblem, the *jelmalandji*. Although the relationship term of *mari* signifying the *kunapipi* is one that normally denotes age (that is, in the grandparents' generation), it is less important from the point of view of sacredness than the *ngu:rlmak*, said to be the major ritual of the trilogy. Sometimes, however, the *ngu:rlmak* is spoken of as "the father of the *kunapipi* side", while the *kunapipi* and *djunggawon* are classified together. But in practice it seems that, irrespective of the terminology of *mari*, the Kunapipi is really of secondary importance.

All the Wauwalak-Julunggul ceremonies belong to the *dua* clans 796 or linguistic groups, and are under the direction of *dua* moiety 616 totemic headmen: but members of the *jiritja* moiety assist in the dancing, singing, and making of ritual objects, and may even include certain of their own particular dances based on purely *jiritja* myth cycles. *Dua* ceremonial leaders, however, are recognized as the principal custodians of indigenous ritual, for they possess not only the Wauwalak but also the Djanggawul. In contrast to the more conservative *dua* groups, the *jiritja* have incorporated introduced themes[1] into their ritual life.

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[113] [1] *Vide* R. and C. Berndt, Secular Figures of North-East Arnhem Land, *American Anthropologist*, 1949, Vol. 51, No. 2, pp. 213-222, with plates; Discovery of Pottery in North-Eastern Arnhem Land. *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LXXVII, Part 2; and R. Berndt, Badu, Islands of the Spirits, *Oceania*, Vol. XIX, No. 2, pp. 93-103; R. and C. Berndt, *Arnhem Land, Its History and Its People*, for publication.

The Kunapipi should be primarily *dua*, but a split of some kind 796 seems to have taken place, so that now the *jiritju* moiety groups have a separate song cycle; this may perhaps be explained by the fact that, 616 in the eyes of the north-east Arnhem Landers, the Kunapipi is of alien origin. The division of ritual activities between both *dua* and *jiritju* people is of importance in ascertaining the relationship of individual aborigines to the Wauwalak ceremonies. This aspect is most apparent in the manufacture of the *jelmalandji* "posts"; but we can touch upon it only briefly here. We are concerned not so much with the individual's attitude towards his ritual and mythology, or with the relationship of the various neophytes to one another on the sacred ground, as with the fundamental doctrine of this particular [771] Aboriginal religion and its expression in ritual. Therefore the individual must play only a subsidiary part in this specific study.

After the swallowing of the Wauwalak, the Two Sisters "changed" 773 their names to Ka'lerika'lering (or Girilinggiriling, that is, "having been swallowed") so that they "could belong to the Kunapipi side". 796 That is, in theory, during the performance of the Kunapipi, the Sisters are no longer called by the term Wauwalak, although this is still employed in the *ngu:rlmak* and *djunggawon*. We shall, however, when referring to the Kunapipi, continue to call them Wauwalak.

Shortly before this, an unmarried male python, called *Lu'ningu* (that is, from *lu'ni*, a young unmarried man; *lu'ningu*, "place of young unmarried men"), had come out of the sacred Muruwul well, and watched the Julunggul swallowing the Wauwalak. When they were vomited out, Lu'ningu went all round the Muruwul country, swallowing all the young unmarried boys (termed *lu'nilu'ni*). But whereas the Wauwalak were vomited and became alive, the young boys were vomited dead, and did not revive. They had died while inside the Snake, and when they were vomited there was no flesh on their bodies; only bones emerged.

As a protest against this outrage by Lu'ningu, the remaining men held a large meeting and decided to kill the Snake," for he was no good, this Lu'ningu: he had swallowed all the young men and they had died". They compared the Lu'ningu with the Julunggul, saying: "Lu'ningu is no good, he vomits up his people dead. But Julunggul is all right; he vomited up the Wauwalak so that they were alive". So they hunted out Lu'ningu, spearing him until he died.

"What are we going to do?" they asked one another then. So they 773 made a large *jelmalandji* which stood upright in the ground, in memory of this Snake. That is, "they took a picture of Lu'ningu" 778 saying, "we have to make this Snake, because we killed him". Some 796 confusion exists here, in identifying the *jelmalandji* with the Lu'ningu; in the big Kunapipi rituals this object is said to represent the Julunggul who swallowed the Wauwalak.

Wauwalak sheltered, and into which the Julunggul came, the *murlk* 773
symbolizes the uterus of the Mother (the Wauwalak or Djanggawul). 778
Old aborigines say: "You know, when the Julunggul went into the
hut, we mean that a penis is entering a woman's vagina, and this hut 796
is a uterus too: that is why we have it on the sacred ground, for it 346
reminds us that everything must come from the Mother's uterus.
That is how we came in the Dreaming; and people still continue to
come in that way, don't they? And why do we have that Julunggul?
Well, don't we have to have a penis to open up and inseminate the
woman, so that she can give birth to children? And when the
Julunggul swallows the Wauwalak, that is like a penis being swallowed by a vagina, only we put it the other way around. Now, when
we hold our big rituals, we do the very same things, because we want [789]
the seasons to come, and things to grow, and people to be born:
that is the real meaning of what we do".

The Kunapipi rituals have been described in some detail by Dr. 114
Warner (*op. cit.* pp. 290–311), and the reader is referred to this for
comparisons. We will mention only various features found in the 796
Yirrkalla region, indicating their relation to the Wauwalak mythology, and interpreting (from native explanations) the actions of the neophytes. It is beyond the scope of this work to record minute details of each stage of the ceremony, for this would entail description of dancing and many irrelevant actions, individual interpretations, and the whole interaction of men and women in and away from the sacred ground. Some of the Kunapipi songs, used both on the sacred ground and in the main camp, are given in Chapters VII and VIII, and these reveal certain details not treated here.

* * * *

The Kunapipi is held usually in the dry season, when food is 796
plentiful; for during this ceremony people are reaping the benefits of
performances held in the previous year, and at the same time are
preparing for the coming wet season and the subsequent growth of
food. Ceremonies may extend over a period of two weeks to two
months, and in unusual cases as long as two years. But now, when [797]
the Mission frowns on the Kunapipi and its attendant rituals, it may
be brought to a close after a few days with the result that much of the [177]
intricate symbolism is omitted. The principal Kunapipi leader is
usually a man of the Li :alauwermiri or an affiliated linguistic group, [614]
or one whose totemic *rangga*, *mareiin* objects, or song cycle are
associated with Muruwul sacred well and the Wauwalak. In the [616]
Yirrkalla region the Kunapipi leaders may have come from Rose
River, being members of groups which are in other respects culturally
alien, or from *dua* clans near Rose River who have obtained the
Kunapipi from further south.

796 Pythons. One sits on the thighs of the other in the trench, and they
535 have "coitus". These ceremonies are spread over a number of days,
831 often with a certain amount of repetition.

In the meantime, the *jiritja* men have been making the *jelmalandji*
796 emblems. It is said that "the *jiritja* have got a *dua* job", and they hunt
778 all the *dua* away from the special place near the sacred ground where
the manufacture is in progress. This "giving the job" to the *jiritja* is
[616] termed *ir'wondji* or *maralwa*. They must be paid with food, clothing, tobacco and indigenous objects, not on the sacred ground but in the main camp. The *jelmalandji* are twelve to twenty feet in length, and about two and a half feet wide at the centre. They are formed with a solid pole, around which pads of grass and paperbark (and in these days blankets and bagging) are tied with native fibres. The outer covering of bark is then smeared with arm blood and red-ochre, on to which is fastened birds' down or wild cotton so that a meandering pattern is formed, symbolizing Julunggul. At the apex of the "post"
[301] is a bunch of cockatoo feathers "like a man wears in his hair". Both *jelmalandji*, one larger than the other, have similar designs. But although one represents Julunggul, the other is said to be the "cabbage" or "wild coconut" (*gulwiri*) palm, which was standing near the Wauwalak's hut, or at the palm-tree swamp from which the blood was washed down to the sacred well (or billabong). Aborigines
[773] explain, "they made the Snake out of that tree", meaning either that the first *jelmalandji* was constructed from the palm tree, or that the Snake itself was derived from it. The latter is probably correct, for this "wild coconut" palm is said to be the spirit of Julunggul: "their spirits were standing in the shape of palm trees near Muruwul, when the Julunggul emerged from the well to swallow the Wauwalak".

While the *jiritja* are making the *jelmalandji*, the *dua* prepare the
796 feather down for body decoration: this has come from the *jiritja*,
237 who are paid for it. It is the *dua* who play the most important part in
301 the ceremonial dancing; and while the final touches are being put to
616 the *jelmalandji*, the *dua* actors decorate themselves, sticking on the
feathers with arm blood. When everything is ready, the two moiety
[783] groups meet each other, and rub sweat over one anothers' eyes;[6]
after this, each group may see what the other has done. The *jiritja* examine the body designs of the *dua*, and the latter may observe the *jelmalandji*.

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6. That is, the *jiritja* rub sweat from their armpits over the eyes of the *dua*, and *vice versa*. This process is carried out when new *rangga* objects or *mareiin* ceremonies are seen for the first time, or when novices or visitors are observing sacred dancing or ceremonial emblems (objects, body or bark paintings, and so on). It means that their eyes may now be opened, they can now see "with sacredness". "The old people have to do this to us before we can see"; for, as one informant explained, "It is like moving over some of the old Law to the youngest (younger generation), and we get trouble if we look straight away". It is called *bunggan'mirljunmu*.

copulation to take place between two "cousins" (*mukul* and *gurung*), 796
who were normally tabu-ed relatives, formally unable to talk to one 835
another, and classified as mother-in-law and son-in-law.[10] That is, [602]
the sacredness of the occasion demanded that sexual intercourse take place between individuals who were at other times tabu. Such coitus would, on the sacred ground, be considered far more potent, from [842]
the point of view of fertility, than that between persons who were classified as "husband" and "wife", were of different moieties, and were comparatively easy of access even if not living together.

Coitus between *mukul* "cousins" at ceremonial periods was 796
termed *ngirimbu'njamari'gwu:wa*, loosely translated as "living with 835
one's cousin for *now* or to-day (that is, for a little while)". Their 616
coitus was said to result in "starting a baby in the female *mukul*"; ●
and this was later looked upon as belonging, spiritually at least, to the male *mukul*. Both *mukul* would be of the same moiety; and the child produced from such a union, which normally would be considered incestuous, would by taking the moiety of its father (for descent of the moiety is patrilineal) also be taking that of its mother. Recognition of the fact that a child would be born of this ceremonial intercourse between two *mukul*, and the parentage acknowledged, demonstrates one aspect of these people's knowledge of physiological paternity.[11] The reason for the carrying out of incestuous intercourse on the sacred ground, for ceremonial purposes, is [773]
reflected in the Wauwalak mythology; for it will be recalled that the elder Wauwalak sister had incestuous relations with a clansman (of the same moiety) before coming to Muruwul, and as a result of this intercourse, a child was born. But although the elder Wauwalak had sexual relations with a man who was of the same moiety as herself, the child apparently took not *dua*, its actual father's moiety, but *jiritja*, as if it had had a *jiritja* father (*vide* Wauwalak myth, Chapter III). "We do it", aborigines say, "because of that Wauwalak: that is why two *mukul* copulate, and their child is acknowledged".

Usually, however, it seems that intercourse takes place between 796
a man and his classificatory brother's wife; but exceptions do occur 835
which may normally be considered incestuous or "wrong-way". Even before the actual ceremonial intercourse takes place, as a climax to the Kunapipi, copulation between Kunapipi partners

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10. This ceremonial copulation with a *mukul* still occurs in the Rose River region. *Vide* Chapter V, which describes a drawing of this ritual.
11. This, aborigines say, "happened in the old times, when the old people had this Kunapipi (suggesting that the Kunapipi was introduced at an early period); we changed from that. Now we only get the daughter of that *mukul*, but in the old time we should have got the *mukul*". But other information casts some doubt as to whether this practice of having ceremonial intercourse with a *mukul* took place only in the past. For example, it is said: "our old people married their *mukul* in the old days, and *now we do it* (that is, copulate) in the Kunapipi, in memory of those old times".

of the ground, but is careful not to look over towards his wife. 796

Both of these variations are known at Yirrkalla, but are recog- 786 nized as taking place outside their own Kunapipi area.

A man or woman will rarely refuse the ritual Kunapipi obligations 837 of having coitus, or giving and receiving presents. Their frank attitude towards the question of sexual relations, and their understanding of the importance of such ritualized copulation, predetermines their full acceptance. Moreover, there is an obvious content of enjoyment, for both men and women are stimulated by the pre- [832] coitus dancing and interchange of jokes. Should there be refusal, caused perhaps by the dislike of a certain Kunapipi partner, that man or woman is soon obliged to conform, for the thwarted partner [753] will threaten to send Julunggul to the other and so cause sickness.

The initial incestuous relations of the Wauwalak Sisters with [773] clansmen, as we have seen, are cited in explanation of this ceremonial copulation.[15] There is also the deeper intent of fertility: the [789] symbolic spiritual fructification of the Mother. There is a tendency to regard this sexual exchange of wives as providing an element of "danger"; for here are men and women copulating with the wives and husbands of others, virtually under their eyes and with one [835] another's full (that is, in theory) sanction, and in "older times" with tabu-ed relatives. All is made possible on the sacred ground, under the "divine" sanction of the great Ancestral Beings and the Mother. The inclusion of ceremonial copulation in the Kunapipi is said to "raise its status to that of *mari* (mother's mother's brother, of the older generation)", but not to the high position retained by the *ngu:rlmak*, or the *dua* and *jiritja nara* Djanggawul and Laintjung rituals.

* * * *

On the morning following the ritual intercourse, the final group of 796 Kunapipi ceremonies is performed.

Just before dawn, all the *dua* men assemble at one end of the sacred 881 ground, and the *jiritja* men at the other. The women have returned 778 to the main camp, and the young initiates are sitting with their guardians. All the men are painted with white paint, spraying it over [302] one another from their mouths; and most have spears. They begin to clap their spears, one against the other, and dance towards each other, changing sides. The bullroarers begin to twirl at this juncture, and the women answer their sound from the main camp. The men's [535] dancing continues till sunrise, when the two moiety groups dance down to the boundary between the ceremonial ground and the main [616] camp, taking the young boys with them. Here, to the accompaniment of the bullroarers' sound and ritual calling, they erect the

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15. *Vide* L. Warner, *op. cit.* pp. 307–8, who also provides a native interpretation of this aspect.

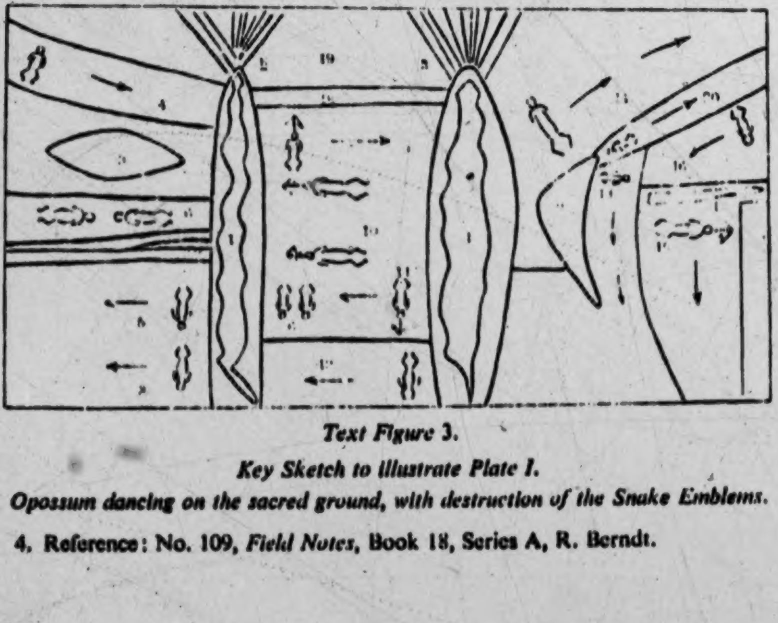
Julunggul; both are topped with feathered ornaments. The *gundaru* 532 *jelmalandji* arises from the *nanggaru* place (9), while the *darlpa* 796 *jelmalandji* arises some little distance away, between the *nanggaru* 881 and the *kanala* (3): in actual practice, both would stand together beside either the *nanggaru* or the *kanala*. On the concave side of the *kanala* (3) are ranged *jiritja* moiety *wari* novices (4) for the Kunapipi, while along the track leading to the *kanala* are *muru dua* moiety novices (5): they do not yet enter the crescent trench.

Parallel to the *kanala*, and to one side of the *nanggaru*, are *dua* dancing postulants (6) representing opossums. This is the important Kunapipi opossum dancing; men with long paperbark penes (10) attached to their waist-bands, or constructed upon their own penes, are male opossums; the others are the females (11). In the dancing they simulate sexual intercourse, erecting their bark penes, and so on.

On the opposite side of the *nanggaru* are *jiritja* moiety *keiango:r* men (7) who watch the erecting of the *jelmalandji*. This is the group [616] that prepared these emblems for the *dua* moiety (6).

Within the *nanggaru* (9), the opossum actors (6) are seen dancing, having gradually moved up along the sacred ground and entered the "billabong" (12). Then they emerge from the *nanggaru* and encircle it (8); they begin to cover it in with their dancing feet, destroying it completely. One dancing opossum actor (13) wears a conical-shaped head-dress topped with feathers, as should all the other participants. [292]

The second drawing,[4] Plate I and text figure 3, in red, blue,



Text Figure 3.

Key Sketch to illustrate Plate I.

Opossum dancing on the sacred ground, with destruction of the Snake Emblems.

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[4] Reference: No. 109, *Field Notes*, Book 18, Series A, R. Berndt.

159 the *nanggaru*; some went into the *nanggaru*, and others went on and
787 into the *kanala*. All the men with the young initiates called out, when
796 they paused now and then on their way to the *kanala* and *nanggaru*;
and they all made a big noise while standing there.

881 "Then the men danced around the *kanala* and *nanggaru*, but did
not go into them. They danced the 'Lightning whipping (that is,
striking) the tree', which we call the *djamala*; but it is also called by
the sacred terms *djeimbalma*, *gurungandungandu*, *w'raidji'kaijunduna*,
kokarara, and *kanggarara*, which mean the flash of lightning striking
and splitting the tree. While we danced, the *dua* men swung the bullroarers,
which we call *maralpan(dji)*, *pundjarlari* and *kindji:lari*, while
its human hair string attachment (the tail of the Snake) is *jurawa*,
mikara, *libana* or *djuruwalimbana*. The bullroarer is like the Snake
[749] himself calling, for when you swing it, twirling it from the stick to
which the cord is attached, you send lightning all over the place.

"Then we called and sang the sacred names of the *kanala*:
[539] '*kanala* ; *kanala'indja* ; *ju:tubilmani* : *kanu:lanawalkwalkgwina*; *Kanala'buldjalwondinja* ;
kanala'djeijil'malindjei ; *kanala'madpaindi:nja*;
kanala'buramanbir' (e.g. see Chapter VII, Song 3).

"We turned to the *nanggaru*, the Snake's hole, to the place where Djuwalji was standing (at *e*), which was the mark made by the Snake when it came out of the *nanggaru*. And we called and sang the sacred names of the *nanggaru*: '*nanggaru* ; *wuninbilibaija* ; *wa:ngnanggu* ; *baiala*; *djalpunbu*; *wandi:ku*; *buldjalwondi*; *winibini:nbailji* ; *buldjalwondinja*—the nest in which the Snake lies.'

"We turned to the two *jelmalandji*, the Snake towering over the
place where the initiates had been lying, and the "cabbage" palm
at *g*. And we called and sang their sacred names:
" '*kanggara* ; *dju:randju:ran'kanggara* ; *gumanangaleija'angaleija* ;
[539] *gumanangali:tjbili:tjbi* ; *gumana'wu:rulndja'wu:rulndja* ; *ru:kari* ;
windigwi:agwi:a'windigwi:agwi:a ; *djalparu'ru:karwa* ; *bu:ra:rwa* ;
wuraldja ; *gumalanga'ngeidjangeidja* ; *gumanang'ngali'djili:dji* ;
windigwi:agwi:a'djanggara.' (This last word is chanted when the
Kunapipi headman beats his sticks as the *jelmalandji* are pushed
over.) And we pushed down the *jelmalandji*, so that the *watamunu*,
● [616] the emu-feathered tops, fell off. The main *jelmalandji* (*h*) was for the
dua linguistic groups of Marakulu and Ri:radjingu; while the other
(*g*) was for the Murungun, Djapu and Djarwak, *dua* groups.

"As the bullroarer was swung, its string broke, and the loose piece of wood flew over and hit a *durilji* gum tree: the impact was so powerful that the tree split, and pieces fell to each side. Then we walked over to pick up the bullroarer, and as I bent down I awoke."

Gumuk said that anger was the cause of this dream: he had cooked
[828] some rice for his supper, leaving it on the fire. When he came back
for it, it was gone; someone had stolen it. He was "a bit sorry for
himself, because he had been cooking just for nothing". He went to

FOREWORD

The Djanggawul religious cult of north-eastern and north- 794
central Arnhem Land has been selected for detailed study 773
because it is more important to the Aborigines themselves than other religious cults in that region. It is older established than, for example, the well-known Wauwalak cycle[1] which sponsors the *djunggawon*, *kunapipi* and *ngurlmag* rituals. The Wauwalak themselves are really the daughters of the Djanggawul, while the *kunapipi* and *ngurlmag* have both been introduced into eastern Arnhem Land. The Djanggawul myth substantiates and gives traditional sanction to the performance of its relevant rituals, known as the *dua nara*. *Dua* is the name of the moiety primarily concerned with this myth [616]
and its rituals; the opposite moiety, the *jiritja*, has a counterpart in the *jiritja nara*, sanctioned by Laintjung, an Ancestral Being who is usually described in conjunction with his son, Banaitja. The Djanggawul, Laintjung, Banaitja and the Wauwalak are the principal ancestral characters who, in eastern Arnhem Land, serve as institutors of religious ritual, dogma and behaviour. However, the Djanggawul Brother and Sisters are by far the most important of these. The *dua nara* Djanggawul cult is also more conservative than, for example, that of Laintjung and Banaitja, for the latter has admitted alien elements, whereas the former has remained, as far as we can ascertain, more purely traditional.

During the course of field work in the Yirrkalla region of north- 794
eastern Arnhem Land, the importance of Djanggawul ritual and 126
songs was brought forcibly to my attention. The Aborigines

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[1] W. L. Warner, *A Black Civilization*, New York, 1937, pp. 244-334. See also R. Berndt, *Kunapipi*, Cheshire, Melbourne, 1951, Chapter III.

114 issues. The concept that woman is profane, in comparison with
794 man the sacred, is not a feature of eastern Arnhem Land religious
or lay thought.

The symbolism in the myth and songs makes clear the intentions
796 of the relevant ritual. In the *dua* moiety *nara*, as an expression
182 of the Djanggawul ideology, the major incidents of the myth are
re-enacted in symbolic form. Much of this ritual is taken up with
[535] totemic dancing; and the animals, birds, reptiles and vegetable
matter danced are totemic in so far that they relate directly or indirectly to the dominant theme. Further, these totems are not used only in relation to the Djanggawul, but are part of the spiritual heritage of the *dua* moiety linguistic groups and clans, which in turn are associated with the Djanggawul.

796 *Dua nara* rituals are all inspired by the Djanggawul, although
at times irrelevant elements enter; for example, other *dua* spirits
● 616 or Ancestral Beings of minor importance become associated with
the main theme, or *jiritja* moiety elements appear from time to time in the myth. But the Djanggawul are *dua*, and their ceremonies are solely of the *dua nara*, and not (as Warner mentions)[1] of both *dua* and *jiritja*. The latter are inspired by their own separate ideology, and by the Laintjung and Banaitja Ancestral Beings; and although similar in many points, they are basically different. However, it is the practice for some *jiritja* men (maternally related to the *dua* moiety) to help out *dua* postulants, or vice versa: and it is usual for both moieties to hold their own particular rituals at approximately the same time. At Yirrkalla, separate ceremonial grounds and separate huts are used by each moiety; but in the western Arnhem Land variant of the *nara* rituals the same ground is used, although each moiety has its separate hut (or shade), which may or may not adjoin that of the other. In eastern Arnhem Land, the ritual demarcation between the moieties is particularly noticeable.

The *dua*, and for that matter the *jiritja*, *nara* are the most important
796 religious ceremonies of eastern Arnhem Land. Being far more
794 important that the *kunapipi*, *ngurlmag* and *djunggawon*, they are not
concerned with age-grading in the same sense that other initiation
885 rituals are. They are primarily revelatory in character; and although
novices are received, they are rather neophytes who are already fully initiated into manhood, and already possessed of a certain amount of religious knowledge. By the time a man sees his first *nara* he is well past adolescence, and usually married; he would normally be expected to have already seen the *ngurlmag*, and to be taking a major part in *djunggawon* dancing, as well as in that of the *kunapipi*, although the latter is optional.

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[1] *op. cit.*, p. 340.

796 neophytes, and, 2, those shown only to the older, fully initiated men whc are intimately acquainted with all phases of the *nara* and of the Djanggawul doctrine. These latter rituals, involving meditation and theological discussions, are the most impressive of all. At this time, too, the sacred feathered string is removed and [616 presented to members of the opposite moiety, as well as to younger 431] members in the right line of descent from the ceremonial leaders; that is, a *gudaru* (sister's daughter's son) gives to a *mari* (mother's mother's brother) or vice versa.

796 778 *j*. This is followed, soon afterwards, by sacramental eating of the sacred cycad palm nut 'bread'. All the preparation of this 'bread' has been undertaken by the women. It is taken out to the sacred ground where it is sung over, and the sacred *bugali* invoked. All the *bugali* of the country through which the Djanggawul passed, as well as their *rangga*, are called. The actual partaking of the 'bread' may be accompanied by the removal of feathered strings from the *rangga* emblems. This symbolizes the meeting of the Djanggawul with Buralindjingu at Dambojowoi (*vide* myth) when, after the Sisters had had their clitorises foreshortened (that is, the removing of the feathered strings from the *rangga*), they were treated as *galibingu* novices, and palm nut 'bread' was eaten sacramentally. But sacred 'bread' has an additional significance. It is a symbol of all food resources; and when the sacred *bugali* are invoked over it, it becomes possessed of a sacred quality which approximates it to a *rangga* emblem. The eating of it (as a *rangga* emblem) means that initiates are absorbing the sacred qualities of their *rangga* becoming themselves 'more *rangga*', more fully absorbed into the Djanggawul ideology. Symbolically they enter (*rangga* = people) the uteri of the Sisters, so that they may subsequently be re-born, when they leave the sacred ground and terminate the *nara*. The eating of the bread creates a strong sacred bond of friendship between all participants: they become as one.

There are, however, many restrictions relating to the eating of this bread. Not all initiates eat from the same bread, but all those eating must be closely related to one another; for *bugali* names have been 'sung' into the bread, and their power remains in it, and cannot be indiscriminately passed around.

796 After final painting of initiates' bodies, the *nara* is brought to a close.

796 182 We see from these examples that ritual is the outward expression of the Djanggawul myth. It is primarily a re-enactment of the principal features of the Brother and Sisters' original journey through north-eastern and north-central Arnhem Land, and an

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562 rôle, and the miracle of childbirth is hers alone. Upon that simple
778 but fundamental thesis much of this traditional epic is based.

Woman's participation in the *dua nara* is thus both logical and necessary. Each sex, however, has its own part to play; and the Djanggawul cycle has indicated not only the physical but also the culturally defined ritual differences between men and women.

In this volume, when describing the beliefs and practices associated
794 with the Djanggawul cycle and the performance of *nara* ritual, we
796 have purposely employed the term cult. This does not mean,
however, that it is controlled or shared by a select group, the
184 acceptance of members within the order being determined by
totemic, clan or linguistic group affinities, by status, prestige or
economic position. This is not so. The Djanggawul cult is one of
a number existing contemporaneously in this region, each having
its own mythology and associated ceremonies. All these cults are
in some degree interrelated, and all male members of the society
are eligible as active participants. Boys and young men pass automatically
through the age-grading ceremonies of the *djunggawon*,
kunapipi and *ngurlmag*. In addition to these, there are certain revelatory
rituals, which are not initiatory. The extent of a man's active
794 participation in the latter, and his eligibility for leadership, depend
796 upon several factors—for example, on his moiety and kinship
affiliations, and on whether or not the cult's mythology and ritual
554 belong to his particular linguistic group or clan, and to his father's
184 family. Such factors, however, never operate to debar him altogether,
and in many cases his relationship to the cult through his mother's
● 616 family may have a compensatory effect. The same conditions apply
in the case of the major religious cults, the *dua* and *jiritja* moiety
nara. All men may be accepted as initiands to the *nara* ceremonies,
and all may subsequently become neophytes; but the measure of
their active participation and leadership depends on the factors
mentioned above. Only a *dua* moiety man, belonging to the most
powerful *dua* linguistic group and clan, can rise to ceremonial
headmanship in the *dua nara*; and here, too, the principle of descent
may operate. The writer's main informants in recording and discussing
the Djanggawul songs, mythology and so on were *dua*
headmen, assisted by other men who were correspondingly 'graded'
in the ritual sphere.

533 Comparison of the myth (Chapter 2) with the Songs reveals certain
773 inconsistencies. These may perhaps stem from the fact that the
myth is an over-all sketch of the Djanggawul's journey and adventures;
it allows rather more latitude and scope to individual narrators,
and does not purport to describe various incidents in any great
detail. On the whole, it does agree basically with the Songs; but

THE ARNHEM LAND ABORIGINES

Arnhem Land belongs to two main groups, who differ considerably 101 insofar as language and certain aspects of their culture are concerned. Perhaps the best way to present a clear general picture of their culture patterns is to outline and contrast the elements that are outstanding in both. For the sake of brevity we shall not digress to discuss minor local deviations like those of the Groote Eylandt and Rose River areas.

A common cultural bond links most of the Aborigines of 101 western Arnhem Land, taking Oenpelli, the Goulburn Islands, 184 and the Liverpool and King rivers, with its eastern boundary near Cape Stewart; but there are some traditional deviations, as well as some linguistic differences. The Maung of Goulburn Islands seem to have been at one period more or less isolated from contact with the mainlanders, who rarely came over to the islands; but at ceremonial times the Maung would come to Sandy Creek, on the mainland opposite South Goulburn Island, for the big *maraiin* (sacred) rituals.

The people of eastern Arnhem Land, from Cape Stewart to 101 Blue Mud Bay, refer to themselves as the Wulamba group, a 184 number of clans that form a "tribe" with more or less common cultural background. 619 Natives outside this region, for example those at Groote Eylandt, often call them the "Balamumu Confederacy". "Balamumu" may be roughly translated as "those of the sea", that is, coastal people. The dialects of all these clans [197] may be classed together as Miwoidj'mada. The whole eastern area is divided among a number of clans, some now extinct and others seriously diminished in population, which share certain linguistic groups. These language groups are considered most [616] important, and they belong exclusively to either the *dua* or the *jiritja* moiety, a division which extends throughout this whole area. Descent within them is patrilineal, but a man (or woman) [611] always feels some attachment to the clan and linguistic group of his mother and mother's brother.

In western Arnhem Land, tribes and groups of tribes are (or 184 were) independent units, not subdivided into clans. 619 Tribal blocs were formed by those dependent on their neighbours in matters affecting economy, marriage and secular and sacred ceremony, and certain tribes recognised closer ties with one another than

619 with other adjacent groups. On the border line between western
184 and eastern Arnhem Land there are tribes affiliated with the
eastern people, but retaining their own distinct cultural pattern.
Apart from the linguistic variations between the eastern and
western groups, and the tribal organisation of the one and the
clan-linguistic group set-up of the other, the principal difference
[611] lies in the eastern form of mainly patrilineal descent and the
western pattern of descent through the mother.

The moiety is the most important feature in the social organisation
184 of the Wulamba people of the east and south-east. It serves
•616 to classify under these two main headings all clans and linguistic
groups, the known universe, and the whole life of the people,
and affiliates all those belonging to the same moiety. The moieties
are exogamous, and are thus the basis upon which marriage rules
depend.

184 In western Arnhem Land we find the moiety-phratry arrangement
(related to the totem) now influenced from the south by
615 the subsection system, which is widely spread throughout
616 Aboriginal Australia. Another feature here is the *namanamaidj*,
611 which establishes a child's affinity with his father's group. This,
together with tribal and linguistic membership, is patrilineal;
[617] but the descent of the moiety, phratry (and totem), and subsection,
is matrilineal.

184 In eastern Arnhem Land the subsections have not yet been
fully co-ordinated with the kinship structure, and many of the
617 older people do not use them. Normally, however, the subsections
601 are based on a system of marriage and descent, and are
essentially a matter of kinship organisation. They group various
relatives together under one term, in such a way that for general
purposes all kinship terms are reduced to eight; and since there
are eight divisions in this subsection system, four belong to one
moiety, and four to the other.[1]

221 The eastern Arnhem Landers possess certain fundamental
features in common with most other Australian Aboriginal communities.
Away from European settlements, for instance, they
are hunters and collectors who must forage for their food. On
221 the northern and eastern coast of Arnhem Land food is certainly
796 abundant and varied, but its constant supply depends on the
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poles, painted with conventional designs and hung with vividly- 778
feathered strings, are stored in a special hut on the sacred dancing 796
ground. From this hut, the uterus, men emerge with them to
posture and dance, while women also dance in the main camp:
and the ceremonies of this cycle conclude with an elaborate
bathing ritual in which both men and women take part.

The Djanggawul rituals belong to the *dua* moiety. People of 796
the *jiritja* moiety have some share in them through their mothers 616 ●
and mothers' brothers; but they have their own ceremonies and
beliefs as well. Laindjung, a counterpart to the Djanggawul but 773
much less important, also came out of the sea to the Arnhem
Land coast from somewhere away to the east, and through his 777
son Banaidja established his mythology and rituals. Many such
Ancestral or Spirit Beings are said to have reached the north
coast of Australia by sea (see Chapter 5), and perhaps beliefs
of this sort reflect some early experiences of alien contact, or
some incidents which served as focal points for the diffusion of
alien ideas. In western Arnhem Land, too, mythology reveals a
strong alien orientation—although this feature may have been
superimposed in later years as a result of Indonesian intrusion.
Thus the great mother Waramurunggoindju and her husband
Wuraggag (now the landmark Tor Rock), like Jurawadpad and
most of their contemporaries, landed at various places on the
Coburg Peninsula after travelling from some far island identified,
today, as "Macassar".

Nevertheless, there has been inland influence as well. The 796
Djanggawul *nara* ceremonies, shorn of much of their mythological 777
significance, have spread right across to the borders of
Western Arnhem Land. The two Wauwalak Sisters came overland
from the south to the northern Arnhem Land coast, where
they inspired the three age-grading ceremonies: the *djunggawon*,
associated with circumcision, and known but not performed in
western Arnhem Land (where most of the tribes are non-circumcising);
the *kunapipi*, more recently introduced into eastern
Arnhem Land; and the *ngurlmag*, rarely performed today, with
its probable origin the *ubar* hollow-log initiation rituals of western
Arnhem Land. The Kunapipi has been introduced into

in weaving and spinning by hand, and employ a simple 105
spindle for the manufacture of string from opossum fur
and human hair. They are skilled as wood carvers and
make elaborately-barbed spear heads of wood, carved
sacred totemic objects, and grave posts, as well as wooden
dugout canoes. They also possess some skill in the working
of metal, and make fine iron spear heads by beating out,
cold, such unpromising material as odds and ends of scrap
metal, rigging screws from ships, heavy metal drums, and
even water pipes. In many of these processes the possession [463]
of special skill is recognised by the use of a distinctive name,
and in their technology there is evidence of the beginning
of craft specialisation.

Some account of the social organisation of the natives 000
of Arnhem Land will be necessary in order to understand
the economic organisation, food gathering and food preparation,
and particularly the division of labour and the
distribution of food.

The people of Eastern Arnhem Land are organised on a 611
basis of localised totemic clans with patrilineal descent. 614
The bond between members of a clan is descent, or belief in
descent, from a common ancestor. Just as the individuals
within each clan are believed to be related, so the clans
themselves are considered to be linked to one another by the
bonds of kinship which once existed among the clan
ancestors or culture heroes who were the founders of the
clans, thereby establishing a permanent relationship between
the groups containing their kin which are believed to be
descended from them.

In at least one respect the social organisation of Arnhem 616
Land, east of Cape Stewart, is atypical. The definite tribal 619
organisation which is a characteristic feature of most other

616 parts of Australia, is absent. Instead, groups of clans, always
[619] of the same moiety,[7] are aggregated more or less closely according to the intensity of the relationship, gauged by the extent of the totemic inheritance from the ancestral culture heroes, which they possess in common.

To these aggregations of clans, the term *mälla*[8] is applied. The important factor in social organisation is the "dual division"—the division into two opposing groups. As stated above, certain clans within the same moiety are aggregated more or less closely into groups according to the in-

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616 [7] An organisation known as the "dual division" occurs throughout Australia and in many parts of the Pacific. It transcends tribal boundaries and cuts through the whole of the social organisation, dividing the clans into two exogamous groups called "moieties".

In Arnhem Land, and in many other parts of Australia, the dual organisation divides all totems between the two moieties. The moieties generally, but not invariably, bear names. In Eastern Arnhem Land these names are *dua* and *yiritja*. There is a well-marked social "opposition" between moieties and the people often have the belief (which can have no sound foundation biologically, since members of the two moieties must intermarry) that members of the two moieties can be distinguished by physical differences, such as skin or eye colour, or the character of the hair, which in one moiety is said to be straight and in the other curly.

[571] [8] *Mälla* is not capable of an exact or scientific definition and may mean nothing more than "a group". It is applied loosely to any group, whether of people or of clans, according to context, but in the sense mentioned here, has a more specific meaning—a group of clans linked by totemism. These groups are not to be regarded in any sense as tribes, but are bound together solely by totemic affinity. They may include within the scope of their solidarity, clans which possess much less cultural and linguistic affinity than those in the opposite moiety. In the absence of tribal organisation in North-eastern Arnhem Land, the opposition between moieties and hence the solidarity of clans within the *mälla*, tends to be emphasised.

tensity of their relationship, gauged by the degree of totemic 616
inheritance. But these groups are certainly not tribes.[9]

The clan, or in practice its occupational group, the horde 614
(*vide infra* p. 12), is the most important unit of social 621
life in Arnhem Land. The clan is the territorial or land- 183
owning group, but the horde is the war-making group, and 626
each horde is to a large extent independent and self-govern- 888
ing. Anything approaching kingship or chieftainship is
unknown in Arnhem Land. Law, order and discipline is laid
down by tradition. It is defined in the mythology, and in
the sagas of the culture heroes, and is maintained by public
opinion, enforced by the old men, who act as custodians of
the heritage of the clan. The authority of the old men is
backed, in turn, by the *wäŋärr*, the totemic ancestors them-
selves, whose edicts are enforced by the threat of supernatural
sanctions.

There is no individual ownership of land. Land owner- 423
ship is vested in the clan as the hereditary group, and as this 614
is a *patrilineal*[10] society, a man is born into his father's clan
and has hunting rights over the territory of his own clan
and generally over that of several others, particularly that

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[9] The arbitrary use of the term *Murngin*, "tribe", for the people [614]
of Eastern Arnhem Land, which was introduced by Professor W. [619]
Lloyd Warner (*A Black Civilisation*; New York and London, 1937)
is particularly unfortunate, for as was pointed out (footnote 5)
east of Cape Stewart in North Central Arnhem Land tribal organisation is conspicuous by its absence from the intricate social organisation of the area, although it appears again at Groote Eylandt in the Gulf of Carpentaria, and occurs along the Roper River. The word *murngin* has nothing to do with social organisation, and is in no sense the name of a "tribe".

[10] Descent, among the aborigines, in family, clan and certain other hereditary groups, is reckoned either in the male line, i.e. through the father, in which case it is called *patrilineal*, or through the mother, when it is called *matrilineal*.

or south-east season, and "shades" of boughs in the very 221
hot dry weather, to the crescentic and semi-circular houses 342
thatched with teatree bark, and the more elaborate rectangular 361
huts of stringybark which are used in the wet season,
and are of a more or less permanent nature. The large rectangular [177]
houses were, however, probably developed or
modified as a result of Malay or Macassar influence.

When the flood waters subside after the storms and rains 221
of the north-west season, the large wet season camps break 361
up into small groups consisting of a few families, which disperse
to lead a nomadic life within the confines of their
own clan territories. Each phase, each season, has its own
related food supply, and this is the chief factor which determines
the daily activities of the people and also the area in
which they are to be found at any time of the year. As the 221
season advances and the grass dries, they practise systematic 224
burning of the country in conjunction with their hunting
activities. This is not a random business; it is well organised,
and is carried out by the men as a communal enterprise,
although in a restricted and controlled manner, with
"drives" for kangaroos, wallabies or other game.

The actual burning of the grass is directed by the old 224
men of the clan, or by others who have an hereditary right, 887
especially by men of other clans who stand, under the kinship 614
system, in the relationship of *wäkku* (son, woman 602
speaking; sister's son, man speaking) that is, men to whom
the clan is *yindipulo* (see pp. 11, 12). Such men are necessarily [616]
members of the opposite moiety, and to those unfamiliar
with the people, they may appear to usurp the authority, to
dominate the affairs, of clans to which they do not belong.
But it is part of the traditional behaviour in this area, that 602
certain people of *dua* moiety carry out some of the ritual 614
tasks for members of certain clans of *yiritja* moiety to which 616

602 they stand in a particular relationship, and for *yiritja* to
614 reciprocate for *dua*. The foregoing account applies also to
● 616 the organisation of most communal enterprises such as
[226] large-scale fishing drives, where the technique is related to
local conditions, and therefore has a localised background.
In such cases the practice is regarded as traditional, as a
part of the pattern or heritage which has been passed to the
clan by its founders, the totemic ancestor or ancestors, and
which is therefore the special right or privilege of its mem-
[628] bers. Such traditional rights are invariably recognised and
respected by other clans and are rigidly enforced, so that
any violation may lead to punitive measures and even result
in an inter-clan feud. And since the procedure is well under-
stood by all participants, differences or disputes rarely, if
ever, arise, and control or authority is not apparent. Most
of these enterprises run so smoothly that only those who
know the people and understand the social organisation
would be aware of the identity of the man in authority.

224 At the conclusion of a hunting "drive" or grass burning
226 operation, or after the completion of a communal fishing
602 expedition, the game or fish is divided equally among
those who took part. The group will then often sit
down and cook or partially cook the food before taking it
back to camp, when it is again sub-divided by each of the
people according to his or her own family or kinship
obligations.

224 While the burning of the grass yields an appreciable
[136] amount of animal food, of which the most important are
kangaroos and wallabies among larger quarry, and such
small game as bandicoots, opossums, "goanna" or Monitor
lizards (*Varanus*), and snakes—it also has the effect of
destroying the tops of food plants, which can then no longer
be detected by the women. Burning must, therefore, be

224 kinship, with due regard to certain ritual observances, such
262 as restrictions and tabus. The game may then be warmed
602 on the hot embers, and shared out among those members
of the family who are permitted to eat it, that is, among those
whose status in relation to the social group, in initiation, or
to the man who killed the kangaroo, does not place him or
[778] her under a tabu. The flesh of any kangaroo or other game
which is killed with a spear or other weapon which is
yarkomirri (lit. "having a name") that is, which has been
dedicated to a sacred clan totem, is also sacred, and may
be eaten only by members of the restricted group comprising
the fully initiated members of the clan. On these occasions
[887 when the food or game is tabu, the division of the quarry
616] is in the hands of the old men of the clan, or more particularly, the men who apply the term *ŋandi* (mother)—
reciprocal term *wäkku*—to the clan concerned, to whom
it is *yindipulo*. The traditional rights of these men take
precedence even over those of the hunters who killed the
quarry. The men who officiate in these divisions of food or
game, as on most ceremonial occasions, are by kinship
status necessarily members of the opposite moiety.

431 In addition to hunting, and to the elaborate and exacting
462 ceremonial life in which every man plays a part, and which
occupies much of his time, he must make and maintain
his own spears, spear-throwers and fighting weapons. It
will be seen later, that a man may actually acquire some
of his spears and other weapons as gifts by ceremonial
exchange. But as he also incurs an obligation to send spears
[461] to others within this system, such gifts do not actually
relieve him either of the work or the responsibility of spear-making, but rather give him an incentive, an urge, to work
and to devote the necessary time to the manufacture of fine
weapons in order to maintain his prestige within the
CEREMONIAL EXCHANGE SYSTEM.

616 **"*Dual division*"** or **"*dual organisation*"**, cuts right through the social organisation of Arnhem Land (as in many other parts of Australia and elsewhere), dividing it into two halves or "moieties", so that half the clans, with their totems, fall into one moiety and half into the other moiety.

In Arnhem Land the moieties are called *dua* and *yiritja*, but they are not always actually named and the *dual division* may be present and may function without the moieties bearing names. Often the natives believe that they can detect physical differences between the members of the two moieties. Sometimes they assert that the people of one moiety have curly hair and those of the other straight, or that there are differences in eye or skin colour. There is often a marked "*opposition*" between moieties to which formal expression is given on ceremonial occasions. This formal or "organised" opposition finds expression, and is often stressed, in the mythology, and especially in totemism, the whole of the totemic organisation being divided between the two moieties.

784 783 673 *Euphoria.* A state of social well-being brought about by the correct observance of ritual behaviour, especially of tabus, in contrast with *disphoria*, a "ritual state of sin" or "bad luck" due to the breaking of tabus. Generally a formal rite of expiation or "purification" of a type laid down by tradition, must be carried out by the individual or by the group to restore a state of *euphoria*.

582 *Exogamy* is simply the rule of "marrying out" as opposed to *endogamy*—marriage within the group. In Arnhem Land society the family, clan and moiety are all strictly exogamous and each of these groups is comprised of people with whom marriage is not only not permitted, but to whom, under the kinship system, the pattern of behaviour is incompatible with that towards a wife or husband.

592 595 *Family*. This is the fundamental unit in social life. In Australia it is the group consisting of a man and his wife or wives, (for these people are *polygynous*), with their young children, own or adopted. Each family lives as a separate, and to a large extent independent, unit, within the camp of the horde. It makes its own fire around which its domestic life is centred and at which it prepares its own food. Around the fireside the food is eaten and here the family sleeps and lives its own separate life.

621 *Horde*, is the name given to the group which at any time actually *occupies* a clan territory. It is the important functional group and is generally the war-making and law-making group and is an independent social and political unity, but its membership may change, and it lacks the permanence and stability of the clan, the group which a man enters by birth alone.

[P.406]

TRIBAL ORGANIZATION IN EASTERN ARNHEM LAND

By T. THEODOR WEBB[1]

131 THE aboriginal peoples referred to in this paper are those occupying
the country to the north-east of a line running roughly from
Cape Stewart on the north coast of Arnhem Land to Blue Mud Bay
in the Gulf of Carpentaria, and extending to the sea coast and the
adjacent islands. The social organization of these peoples is marked
621 by a very pronounced emphasis on the importance of the horde, each
of which exists as an almost entirely independent unit. These
hordes are very numerous; some of them are very small, and there
is definite evidence that several of them have actually become extinct,
at least in so far as their patrilineal descent as a separate unit is
concerned. With the few exceptions mentioned below, each of
[197] these hordes, no matter how small, has its own particular dialect.
In many cases the dialectal difference is small, and in at least one
instance would appear to be consciously artificial.

The two moieties into which the aboriginal society is divided
621 are known as Yiritcha and Dua respectively, and these names are
616 used without variation throughout the area indicated. Each horde
is exclusively Yiritcha or Dua, as the case may be, and every man
[582] obtains his wife from some other horde of the opposite moiety.

The two moieties are divided into eight subsections, four
621 Yiritcha and four Dua, and the prevailing form of totemism includes
616 the definite relationship of all members, both male and female, of
each subsection (*marlk*), with some particular bird or animal, which
617 is known by the individual as his or her *dʒuŋoin*. These *dʒuŋoin*
have, as far as I am able to discover, no association with totem centres.
Every member of the same subsection possesses the same *dʒuŋoin*,
irrespective of the horde to which he belongs.

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[1] Chairman of the North Australia District of the Methodist Missionary Society of Australia.

12: Webb M-5 (ca. 1930) 1933 O117 Murngin O117

The eight subsections, with their totems, are as follows: 621

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Subsections. Male	Female	Totems.
(Yiritcha)		
Ngarit	Ngaritjan	*kurrtʃumbul ŋorowarau*[a] (slender-limbed kangaroo).
Bulain	Bulaindjan	*kurrtʃumbul borumŋor* (stout-limbed kangaroo).
Kaijark	Koitjan	*karrkain* (fork-tailed kite). *kurritʃorrk* (large black lizard). *jiriwi-jiriwi* (wagtail).
Bangardi	Bangaritjan	*urrpan* (emu).
(Dua)		
Buralang	Kalian	*werrti* (agile wallaby). *dʒandil* (smaller wallaby).
Balang	Bilindjan	*damala* (white-breasted sea-eagle).
Kamarung	Kumandjan	*karmaruŋ* (wedge-tailed eagle).
Warmut	Warmutjan	*warmut* (black-breasted buzzard). *dulaku* (black-nosed kangaroo).

The moieties are determined by patrilineal descent, but the subsections by matrilineal descent. [611]

The regular system of marriage between the subsections, with the subsections of the offspring, is as follows :— 582

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Yiritcha man.	Dua woman.	Yiritcha children.	
		Male.	Female.
Ngarit	Bilindjan	Bangardi	Bangaritjan
	Kalian	Kaijark	Koitjan
Bulain	Kalian	Kaijark	Koitjan
	Bilindjan	Bangardi	Bangaritjan
Kaijark	Warmutjan	Ngarit	Ngaritjan
	Kumandjan	Bulain	Bulaindjan
Bangardi	Kumandjan	Bulain	Bulaindjan
	Warmutjan	Ngarit	Ngaritdjan

Dua man.	Yiritcha woman.	Dua children.	
		Male.	Female.
Buralang	Bulaindjan	Warmut	Warmutjan
	Ngaritjan	Karmarung	Kumandjan
Balang	Ngaritjan	Karmarung	Kumandjan
	Bulaindjan	Warmut	Warmutjan
Karmarung	Bangaritjan	Buralang	Kalian
	Koitjan	Balang	Bilindjan
Warmut	Koitjan	Balang	Bilindjan
	Bangaritjan	Buralang	Kalian

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[a] Rolled *r* is indicated by *rr*.

582 616 It will be seen from the above that though eight subsections are recognized, these operate in four pairs, so reducing the organization in this respect to a four-section system. It should be noticed, however, that normally a man marries a woman of the first-named subsection in the above, *i.e.*, a Ngarit man regularly marries a Bilindjan woman, but under certain circumstances may marry a Kalian woman. A Buralang man regularly marries a Bulaindjan woman, but may marry a Ngaritjan woman, and so on.

778 The chief ceremonial object is called *muraian*, and each horde possesses a number. These are, in the vast majority of cases, representations of (*a*) utensils, such as digging sticks (*bart∫u*), dilly-bags (*batti*), clubs (*balata*), *etc.*, supposed to have been used by mythological ancestors; (*b*) natural species associated in legend with these ancestors; (*c*) these mythological ancestors themselves or certain of their physical organs. These *muraian* would, I suppose, be termed ceremonial totems, though it seems an abuse of the term so to apply it. *Muraian* is the common "outside" name for these objects, while the ceremonial or "inside" name is *raŋga*. *Muraian* is, on rare occasions, used to indicate anything sacred or tabu, but correctly the term applies only to these particular objects, the general term for sacred being *yarin*. Thus the *muraian* or *raŋga* is *yarin*.

796 The ceremonies associated with these *raŋga* are known as *nara*,[3]
621 but while there is found an ill-defined system of local totem centres the *nara* ceremonies are performed at any suitable place, quite frequently
778 in the territory of another horde many miles from the totem centre to which it belongs. Not infrequently both Yiritcha and Dua hordes will unite for a *nara* ceremony, *raŋga* of both moieties being used.

778 621 614 It is upon these *raŋga* that the only real cohesion between the various hordes is based. Certain hordes of the same moiety, though as widely separated as Elcho Island on the north coast and Blue Mud Bay on the Gulf of Carpentaria, possess the same *raŋga*, and these are regarded as belonging to the same *mala*. I leave it to be

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[3] It should be noted that the *nara* ceremonies are in no sense increase rites, which are unknown in this region.

617 persons who in many cases are cross-cousins (mother's brother's children or father's sister's children) to one another; and the arrows connect the subsections of mother and child.

By following the table it will be seen that a Ngarit man marries a Balang woman and his son belongs to Bangardi. Likewise, Bangardi marries a Karmerung woman and has a Bulain son. So too, a Bulain man's son is Kaijark, and a Kaijark man's son is back to Ngarit. In the same way, Balang man's son is Karmerung, whose son is Buralang, whose son is Warmut, whose son is back into the Balang subsection.

616 These two male lines (or cycles) of descent are interesting
for another reason. Before the north-east Arnhem Land
natives adopted the subsection system, they possessed what
Mr Chaseling refers to as two moieties, Dua and Yiritcha,
the dual organization. This division, which is social and
ceremonial in function, runs through the whole community,
dividing it into two groups, membership of which is de-
[611] termined by descent in the male line. Moreover, Dua
peoples must marry Yiritcha peoples and vice versa. This
means that a man and his children, his son's children, and
those of his son's son and son's son's son, all belong to the
same moiety, whereas the wives and husbands of these
persons all belong to the other moiety.

616 Then came the eight subsection system, which the natives
617 adjusted to their kinship grouping and marriage rules, and,
177 with as great facility, to their moiety organization. One
series or cycle of four subsections, each related to the preceding one as child to father (that is, patrilineally), was equated to one moiety, and the other series to the other. Thus, the Yiritcha moiety consists of the Ngarit-Bangardi-Bulain-Kaijark-Ngarit cycle, and the Dua moiety of the Balang-Karmerung-Buralang-Warmut-Balang cycle. The result is that when a Ngarit man, who incidentally must be

a member of the Yiritcha moiety, marries his mother's 177
brother's daughter, he is marrying a woman of the Balang 616
subsection and Dua moiety, and also of a local clan different 617
from his own, as will be shown later.

This is possibly somewhat confusing to the reader, and to all who do not possess an understanding of aboriginal social organization. But I can vouch for the fact that the system is intelligible and quite logical, and those who tend to regard the Aborigines as a low type, or of poor intelligence, must reconcile that opinion with the fact that the north-east Arnhem Land Aborigines not only understand the system, and make it work in everyday life, but that they adjusted this new grouping to their own kinship and marriage rules and to their dual organization.

I have enlarged on this matter, not only to give some idea 181
of the background of behaviour in the region, but also to suggest that in matters of importance to themselves, the Aborigines are just as intelligent and logical as we are. It is our ignorance of their world of thought which often causes us to regard them as low in the scale of intelligence, when, as a matter of fact, we are not acting very intelligently in judging them without a thorough knowledge of the facts.

The Aborigines and their Country

Here and there Mr Chaseling mentions hordes and sacred 619
wells. This introduces us to the fundamental unit of the 614
social and even 'political' organization. The tribe as an organization of clans or hordes does not really exist in this region. Instead there are a number of local groups, each occupying on the average about 360 square miles of country, loosely bound together by the fact that they possess in common certain features of social organization, for example, the kinship system, marriage rule, eight-subsection system, and the dual organization (or division of the community into two groups for certain ceremonial and social purposes);

CHAPTER NINE

Hordes at Home and at War

616 773 AN aboriginal myth says that tribal and social laws were made by spirit-Ancestors. Spirit-Ancestors wandered through the country begetting the first aboriginal children and instructing them in secret ceremonies, sacred songs, and dances. These first-born nomads were divided by the Ancestors into two great Dua and Yiritja moieties, and today a Dua man can marry only a Yiritja woman, or vice versa, and all children belong to the father's moiety.

616 624 This rule applies through the family to the numerous small hordes, for the horde is an enlarged patriarchal family in which the men and their children are members of one of the moieties, and wives and mothers belong to the other. Unmarried adult daughters and sisters are unknown in any [589] horde, for they are bestowed in childhood to become wives in hordes of the opposite moiety.

617 582 Each moiety includes four marriage-groups or subsections; the total of eight forms the framework of a marriage and social system. To obtain a wife, a man theoretically considers whether he is Dua or Yiritja; a Dua man invariably marries a Yiritja woman. The problem is further complicated in that he, being Dua, belongs to one of the four Dua marriage-sections and therefore not only marries a Yiritja woman, but a woman who must be from one of its four marriage-subsections, although marriage into a specified second section is allowed. Children of this union take the father's Dua moiety, though they will not belong to his marriage-subsection, nor yet to the mother's, but to another indirectly determined by the mother's.